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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2179

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# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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STUDENT INTEREST, GRADES IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE DECLINE'

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 13 May 83 p 7

[Article by Jozsef Veghelyi]

[Excerpt] It presents great difficulties that even those students who attain relatively good results with the Russian language material of the public school cannot progress according to the plans of the instruction program. One-quarter of them can be brought to a satisfactory level for the gymnasium instruction program, or can be kept at an intermediate level only by means of weedkly tutoring classes while three-quarters of the students drop back by a grade or two. The primary cause should not be sought in the abilities of the students or in any unfavorable circumstances, not even in poor teaching although the effect of these also should not be overlooked. The main cause lies in the possibility to master the general school subject material or, more precisely, in the divergent subject and personnel conditions in the public schools. These conditions are unfavorable in most places. I refer to the motivations of the students towards learning, the ambitions of the parents and the difficulties with the supply of specialized teachers. Should not the requirements be set accordingly? Shouldn't we reach for less in order to grasp more? The public school could effectively reach the more demanding goals only by means of good instruction plans and textbooks, a setting which insures instruction in small groups and an adequate supply of well-prepared, specialized teachers. As long as these conditions cannot be met, it is unrealistic to plan the high school Russian instruction program on the basis of general school achievements. Until such time, would it not be advisable to rearrange the high school study material in such a way that, at least at the beginning, the student and the teacher should not immediately bump into a wall?

What are the results of Russian language instruction during the high school years? I summarized with interest the study results of 144,131 and 132 students of the classes between 1978-82, from the first to the fourth grade. The statistical data obtained satisfied my curiosity.

The results are distressing. The data show that, in grade 2, there was great regression compared to the results in grade 1 and this trend continued at a diminishing rate until the end of high school.

	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	4th Grade
Improved from (grade point)	4	5	5
	3	12	6
	2	1 (6.25%)	5 (12.12%)
Maintained grade point	5	9	9
	4	22	21
	3	18	31
	2	10 (52.08%)	27 (66.66%)

	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	4th Grade
lowered grade point by 1			
from 5	9	12	3
4	25	15	18
3	19	14	6
2	1 (37.5%)	-- (31.29%)	-- (24.45%)

lowered grade point by 2			
from 5	3	2	1
4	3 (4.16%)	2 (3.05%)	- (0.75%)

Is that all that we can achieve in four years? Although the general grade average of the classes has improved year by year, the averages being 3.54, 3.51, 3.62 and 3.74. Subjects which require special talents such as singing, drawing and gymnastics were not graded by us; these would raise the averages. The increasing averages reflect a greater or lesser improvement in every subject--even mathematics scores held steady--only the drop in the Russian language is alarming.

Our public education policy places particular emphasis on the teaching of Russian. A more recent sign of this is that the teaching of Russian is started already in the fourth grade of the general school. I am not convinced that this beginning is made more effective by teaching the Cyrillic letters in writing. I know that many material, personal and social problems must be solved also in this area. The profession could provide more overall help but, according to the facts, it was unable to derive the corresponding consequences neither in its approach, nor in its activities associated with selecting the instructional material and searching for the method to be used.

With respect to approach, I see the main problem in not being able to resolve the dilemma between practical speaking and grammatical foundation. The contradictions between the demands of theory and practice are currently reflected by the one-sided dominance of theory. Just like in other subjects, practical demands have sunk to a profoundly subordinate role under the slogan of "extreme practicality." While I am eliciting the contrary opinion of my specialist colleagues, I shall still risk it: wouldn't it be more valuable for one to speak a foreign language incorrectly than to be educated in grammar but unable to speak it because an entire system of inhibitions was developed in the individual caused by an excessive demand for correctness.

It is the consequence of this conflict in approach that, for several decades--the thematical selection of the instructional material has been debated in vain--there has hardly been any result. Although this would be even more important for teaching the Russian language because some unfavorable circumstances have to be faced in this context. To mention only one: in discos, rock festivals and on records, the youth hears English language music all over, and the hit tunes on radio and TV are also in English. In the music so closely related to their lives, they do not encounter Russian texts. This is difficult to match.

But a demand for the lastingly beautiful and valuable is also alive in young people, more so than many would guess, and we could satisfy this demand with the Russian culture and the topics of everyday life.

In methodology, the teachers should be given even more freedom. Luckily, we are past the age of nearly compulsory, absolute foreign language and semantic transgressions rampant one or two decades ago. But the problems of approach and theme selection in language training also constrict the individual methods more than necessary. Possibilities should be created for more experimentation.

2473

CSO: 2500/317

## POLAND

### ACTIVITIES OF 'ZOMO' RIOT TROOPS DISCUSSED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 23, 6 Jun 83 pp 95-97, 100-101

[Text] The "Zomo," the notorious riot police with a long tradition, is intermeddling in the power struggle of the party leadership--against Jaruzelski, on the side of the hard-liners.

With their visors and shields made of Plexiglas, they look like the cinema's idea of troops from another star--but their brutality is quite terrestrial: In Poland, wherever and whenever criticism of or opposition to Jaruzelski's military regime arises, martially decked-out riot troops are called in against this--the "Zmotoryzowane Oddzialy Milicji Obywatelskiej" (Motorized Units of the Civil Militia), named "Zomo" for short.

Poles with a sense of humor have called it "the beating heart of the party," and the "Zomo" has meanwhile become known worldwide as well, through the crisis reports of Western television, as a riot police which takes action against defenseless demonstrators with tear gas and truncheons.

This most-hated special unit, which does the routine dirty work for Jaruzelski's reign, is responsible for at least 60 deaths since the proclamation of martial law in December 1981. Workers, students, and housewives have been shot dead in clashes with the "Zomo," or have been tortured and beaten to death in interrogation sessions; Polish dissidents speak about a "number surely twice as large as this."

The most recent case: In mid-May a militia patrol arrested, for no discernible reason, the Warsaw high-school student Grzegorz Przemyk, 19 years old, who was coming from his graduation ball, along with a classmate of his at the Warsaw Schlossplatz, and took both students to the police station for an interrogation.

Only one hour later, the meanwhile informed mother of Przemyk found her son unconscious and attended by a doctor on emergency call. Two days later the student died after an operation in the hospital. Cause of death: Serious injuries to the spleen and liver and in the intestinal area, apparently caused by brutal blows to the lower abdomen.

Through three mutually contradictory communiques, the police tried to talk their way out of it: The student supposedly had been found drunk, he had "reacted aggressively" at the police station, and there was even talk of drugs.



The militia did not mention the true reason for the arbitrary arrest and the terrorism at the interrogation: High-school graduate Przemyk was the son of Polish lyricist Barbara Sadowska, a member of the banned civil-rights movement "Kor" who as chairwoman for more than 2 years of the relief action committee for political prisoners and their families in association with the Primate of the Catholic Church--has been active in nonviolent resistance.

It is believed even by Poles loyal to the government that the so-far unpunished murder of this student was not an "accident" by the riot police. It was both an attempt at intimidation against the persistent political resistance and also a provocation aimed at the Polish episcopate--possible even an especially perfidious attempt by the party hard-liners to prevent even then the pilgrimage to Poland of Pope Wojtyla planned for mid-June.

Thus the funeral of the student turned into a mass demonstration against the regime. In a silent march more than 50,000 predominantly young Poles moved through the city center to the cemetery, where the teacher of the murdered victim gave the funeral address: "I prepared you for everything, except only for brutality and violence."

Indignation spread nationwide. Even in the newspapers, which had been brought into line again long ago, readers were allowed to ask the question of whether the government still had its police under control. The Polish author Wiktor Woroszylski wrote an open letter to deputy premier Rakowski. Quote:

"I am writing this letter to ask in all sincerity what you and your co-rulers intend to do to put a stop to the bestiality. I would like to know what is being done to strip people from certain services of their right to brutality, to make sure they no longer are given any encouragement to brutality, which they seem to be resorting to more and more boldly. What will be done to ensure that the Polish youth, our children, are no longer treated as the Enemy Number One of this State, as free game, as a target for injurious and fatal beatings on the streets of our cities and behind impenetrable walls?

"Today, it is more important to have an answer to this question than to have declarations, speeches, and polemics, by means of which an attempt is made to drown out the screams of pain from those being tortured and murdered."

The answer to such questions is given by Polish post-war history. Because the organizing of politically motivated and politically guided special units of the police has a long tradition in communist Poland--despite changes of names and responsibilities.

The model was Russia, where shortly after the 1917 October Revolution Lenin saw to it that the young Soviet power was protected by a political militia --against domestic enemies.

Felix Dzershinskiy, the Polish-born founder of the first Soviet state security service "Cheka," came up with a particularly cynical bon mot for the bloody task of his troops: "If one compares the party, the avant-garde of

the working class, to a saber then undoubtedly the blade would represent the state security service."

In Poland, the special units established even before the end of the war were called the "Corps for Internal Security" (KBW), whose job was to overcome the armed resistance against the communist takeover of power.

Until the middle of the 1950's this corps waged a virtual civil war, with fully equipped regiments, against Polish and Ukrainian nationalist resistance groups, above all in southeast Poland.

By the year 1946 the KBW, which was placed under the Ministry for State Security, already had about 110,000 men under arms. Its own military courts, special units such as the "Independent Battalion" (SBS), and companies made up of orphans of soldiers killed in action kept watch over the correct political awareness. The chief of this corps was the guerilla general and later interior minister, Moczar.

Following the bloody purges and a general amnesty, the paramilitary special units were put into action above all in the fight against the armed opposition. In the Poznan workers' riot of 1956, they shot at striking workers. This corps also secured the repromotion of Gomulka to party leader. Since the Kremlin leadership did not approve of the reelection of this national-communist, whereas the Polish army was commanded by Soviet Marshal Rokossovski, KBW chief General Wacław Komar gave his troops the order to surround Warsaw.

But 9 years later Gomulka placed the special units of the KBW under the Ministry of Defense. To him, the rivalry between these political troops under the command of his favorite enemy Moczar and the army was too dangerous.

Interior minister Moczar retained his grip on the meanwhile built-up paramilitary units of the civil militia (MO), also on the garrisoned units. Moreover a workers' militia (ORMO) was recruited which in 1960 comprised only 87,000 men, but in 1966 already had 250,000 men. Their task: "Protection of public property."

At the workers' rebellion in the coastal cities in December 1970 the militia did the opposite: Summoned by deputy premier Kociolek, the present Polish ambassador to Moscow, the policemen shot at striking workers and killed 300--whereupon Gomulka fell from power.

Gomulka's successor Gierek, being a person without prior service and lacking a power base in the army, preferred to have the party protected again by its own praetorian guard. Moreover he saw in defense minister and Politburo member Jaruzelski a man who as a popular army leader could be dangerous to him.

The operational units of the militia, since 1964 named "Military Units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs," were again placed under the central command

of the interior ministry. Today, "Zomo" forms the nucleus of these troops.

The militias, which until then had been equipped only with small arms and water cannons, received the weapons of a regular army: Tanks, helicopters, artillery, paratroops, and engineer units.

They instituted officer ranks up to brigadier general (of the 16 brigadier generals, no less than 12 were appointed under Gierek) and received their own officers' schools. The budget of the interior ministry, which is responsible for the police, the secret service, and the fire department, increased ten-fold. However, Gierek did not dare to call in his highly armed police army against the inter-industry strike committee, and Jaruzelski refused to let the army shoot at unarmed dockers.

After the founding of the independent trade union "Solidarity," the voluntary reserve broke up--most of the auxiliary policemen switched to the "Solidarnosc." In Warsaw, the criminal investigation department demanded its organizational separation from the discredited state security service, and thousands of policemen got an early retirement.

In the autumn of 1981 the founding members of an independent police union also spoke at the Danzig "Solidarity" congress. But the truncheon guards of the party still existed. In March, the bloody attack by "Zomo" policemen on organized workers in the voivodeship building of Bromberg triggered a serious crisis. "Solidarity" threatened a general strike, interior minister Milewski, who had begun his career as a war orphan in the special units of the KBW, had to go.

Two months later, Politburo member Stefan Olszowski, the most bitter opponent of "Solidarity," proposed at a party meeting that "for the protection of the citizens" the police and military should go on joint patrols on the streets--and with that martial law was already anticipated.

In fact, when General Jaruzelski proclaimed martial law against his own people in December 1981, he was able to leave the bulk of his army in the barracks. The 330,000 men of the militia, strengthened by a reactivated voluntary reserve, the border police with 80,000 men, and the military secret service with 25,000, were sufficient to keep the population largely under control.

Meanwhile, in each of the 49 voivodeships the operational militia was concentrated into "Pulki manewrowe" (Mobile Regiments): the one in Warsaw already has the strength of a division.

A new feature is a formation with quasi-police aspects which is being infiltrated into the enterprises as a plant security service. Thus, the Warsaw automobile factory F. S. O. was given 125 additional manpower slots for members of the "civil defense." The political workers in these civil defense units come from the school of the State Security Service in Rembertow near Warsaw.

The party has gotten itself a self-protection armed with pistols which goes by the name of "Political Self-defense." Under the direction of the militia, loyal comrades are receiving regular instruction in handling weapons. In the Krakow quarter of Krowodrze alone, 400 party members go to target practice.

The "Zomo" is outfitted with a rubber truncheon one meter long which has sealed in it a steel rod. Against demonstrators in Lubin and Gruenberg in August of last year it introduced an especially insidious weapon: Mounted on armored cars were lens reflectors whose beams set fire to the clothes of people within a few seconds. This flash cannon comes from the GDR.

Besides several types of tear gas, the "Zomo" also uses paralyzing gases which can be fired in ampules from hand guns.

The "Zomo" does not only shoot at demonstrators; its torture methods in the interrogation process are notorious. A report from the leader of an illegal strike, who despite having suffered a heart attack was dragged by the "Zomo" out of the hospital to the commander's office:

"During the interrogation I had to kneel at a stool, my hands chained to it. At almost every question I was hit with a rubber truncheon on the soles of my feet. Then a caustic liquid was sprayed in my face at close range from an atomizer. In the prison hospital, the doctors diagnosed burns on the conjunctiva and a progressive loss of my eyesight."

The "Zomo" is having a go also at psychological warfare: Shortly after the release of the labor leader Lech Walesa, Church leaders and Western television correspondents were sent photomontages of Walesa in sexual scenes. The counterfeiter slipped to DER SPIEGEL a tape on which Walesa supposedly was carrying on a conversation with his brother and which represented him as being avaricious and megalomaniacal.

Whoever signs up for the "Zomo" must be in good health and at least 175 centimeters tall. In Gierke's times, those who signed up for this truncheon guard were mainly somewhat dim-witted villagers: Occasionally criminals also took part whose sentences were dropped when they made this commitment.

Today, these are primarily people liable for military service, who are able to serve their time with the "Zomo" and above all who are lured by financial rewards: The monthly salary for a militiaman amounts to 6,000 zlotys (172 marks), ten times as much as a soldier's pay. Sums between 50,000 and 100,000 zlotys are offered as a severance bonus after 5 years of service.

High allowances for petty expenses are also supposed to keep the thugs happy. Their per diem rate for provisions is now about 500 zlotys--in the Polish children's homes it is about 52 zlotys. Every "Zomo" man is entitled to a pack of cigarettes per day and to four bottles of vodka per month.

As bonuses "Zomo" members received goods from the GDR and occasionally also from the West. Moreover, since the proclamation of martial law the occupying troops of the party have not been accommodated any longer in remote

barracks, but in comfortable hotels: "Heveliusz" in Danzig, "Novotel" in Breslau, or "Soleo" and "Vera" in Warsaw.

The "Zomo" is trained in camps which in part lie within the CSSR. There, recruits practice close combat, while from the loudspeakers shouts such as "ge-sta-po" boom out--the intention is to thus prepare them for engagements with demonstrations. Special platoons which belong to the "tactical units" train in Kungfu or Karate.

For some time now, the party press has endeavored mightily to improve the reputation of the militia. Of all periodicals, even the weekly magazine POLITYKA--which was once the most liberal in the East Bloc--worried in an on-the-spot report from the officers' school of the interior ministry in Szczytno: "It is disconcerting when the officer candidates drive through Warsaw in their jeeps and the students lean over the windowsills and shout, curse, and whistle. After all, those in the jeeps are students as well!"

The Upper Silesian TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA really comes closer to the truth in its report from a barracks of the "Zomo" people in Katowice: "It is claimed that they are apathetic and unreflecting....Certainly they are by no means the embodiment of gentleness and sensitivity--in dangerous situations one cannot afford any polite manners."

Staff Sergeant Major Jan Jaczek was allowed to describe in the Lublin party newspaper SZTANDAR LUDU how difficult this situation is for the "Zomo" men:

"We are really not degenerate. After an engagement we cry from all the gas and only yearn to go to sleep as quickly as possible....You should have heard my 5-year-old son when he came home crying and complained that other children did not want to play with him because his father is a "Zomo" member."

Since the beginning of 1983 individual actions of the "Zomo" have intensified. In Breslau a group of pupils, the youngest of them only 12 years old, were beaten with rubber truncheons by a detachment at the police station. For the entertainment of the policemen the young people were made to beat each other up.

In Katowice, the "Zomo" detained the labor leader Kazimierz Switon for 30 hours without giving any reasons. A few days before the murder of the student Przemyslaw, the St. Marin Cloister in Warsaw's Old Town, the central office of the relief organization for political prisoners, was raided by unknown civilians.

In Danzig, the labor leader Walesa was summoned to police interrogations almost daily--about which the headquarters in Warsaw ostensibly knew nothing.

Experts believe that behind the terrorist actions of the police are abettors who in this way also want to fan the flames of the power struggle among the leadership of the party.

Supporters of Jaruzelski such as Deputy Premier Rakowski and Interior Minister General Kiszczak, who are still striving for an admittedly watered-down reform program, are to be compelled by provocative terrorist actions to take a harder course.

Politburo member Barcikowski, who in 1980 had negotiated the Stettin agreement with the strikers, went to the hospital suffering from a heart attack after a dispute in the Politburo over trade union problems. Since then, the moderates have been without an important voice.

Last Tuesday at the Central Committee Plenum, which had been postponed for months, decisions on personnel were to be in favor of the hard-line "reactionaries." But the settling of scores did not come off. As the man responsible for the murder of the student, the reactionary police general Stachura lost his important post as security head and was packed off to Ankara as ambassador.

Rakowski saw to it that the likewise arrested friend of the dead student was able to give an eyewitness account on television--in the struggle for power within the party, the friends of the general still have the upper hand.

12114

CSO: 2300/324

CULTURE DEPARTMENT REPORT READ AT PZPR WRITERS CONFERENCE

Text of Report

Warsaw ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 10, 6 Mar 83 pp 4,5

[Slightly abridged report of the Culture Department of the PZPR Central Committee given on 25 February of this year by Kazimierz Molek, deputy director of the department, at a meeting of writers who are party members: "Party Writers and Literature and the ZLP"]

[Text] The Cultural Contribution of People's Poland Is Enormous

People's Poland's cultural contribution is enormous, evident on many planes, is rich, testifies to our nation's great spiritual energy, and brings us much acclaim in the world, demonstrating the quality of the party's cultural policy.

In literature this contribution is composed of the creativity of the generation of Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz and Leopold Staff, Wladyslaw Broniewski and Julian Tuwim, Leon Kruczkowski, Maria Dabrowska, Zofia Nalkowska, Julian Przybos, Tadeusz Breza and Tadeusz Parnicki, Adolf Rudnicki, Leopold Buczkowski, Jerzy Putrament, and other famous authors. Their creativity, which began either during the 2 decades between the wars or earlier, has also flourished in People's Poland.

This contribution consists of works in poetry, prose, drama, essays, and journalism of the whole wartime generation of literature with all the pain there and comes into literature in the period of the founding of People's Poland: Tadeusz Borowski, Stanislaw Dygat, Wilhelm Mach, Wojciech Zukrowski, Bohdan Czeszki, Roman Bratny, Tadeusz Rozewicz, Tadeusz Holuja, Stanislaw Zielinski, Stanislaw Lem, and Miron Bialoszewski.

This contribution is enhanced by the many talented and accomplished members of a generation which got its start in literature in the mid-1950's. One superior movement in People's Poland was organically related to the process of social change, the so-called "rural" literary movement, which flourished in the wonderful works, for example, of Julian Kawalec, Wieslaw Mysliwski, and Tadeusz Nowak.

These literary foundations have been built upon by other works which have been significant in our literary culture, the autobiographies of Lucjan Rudnicki, Marcjanna Fornalska, and Michal Krajewski, and an exceptionally rich assortment of memoirs.

This is what has grown and is continuing to grow on this "cultural desert," as it is called by the antisocialist opposition, which would designate by this name the entire period of development of People's Poland. Despite the obsessively proclaimed hypothesis that our culture is "spiritually stunted," despite periodic tensions and crises which are natural during a period of rapid changes with regard to social regime and civilization, the literature of People's Poland is literature we have right to be proud of, literature which is enjoying the well-deserved acclaim of readers in our country and abroad.

There is no way to detect in it any results of "the regimentation of incentives and feelings," as our opponents attempt to do, because we see a quite varied picture of various ideological inspirations and genuine conflicts, in which contemporary generations of Poles share. We also find a picture showing the vital contact which Polish literature had with its various currents in the world, currents known in Poland because of the wealth of translations from many national literatures, especially those of our European cultural community. Efforts aimed at complete denial of any cultural contribution of People's Poland were merely intended to compromise the socialist state and pave the way for counterrevolution.

In literature and the literary community we are presently seeing symptoms of moral and political chaos stemming from the emotion and logic of political strife. And it is art, especially literature, that must force its way through the dense layers of political "downfall" and help restore orderly moral and civic thinking to the society. To this end literature has the strength which has its roots in its traditions, its social authority, and the talents of its writers. The sources of crisis phenomena in literature and literary life are numerous and varied.

The development of literary life conditions everything which goes together to make up the conceptualization and practical implementation of cultural policy waged in our country by literature and writers. This realm of cultural policy has not been devoid of errors and oversimplification. The consequence of many years' neglect of material resources for culture is a significant decline in the conditions for the publishing and dissemination of books. The fact that powerful barriers have arisen which limit the social range of the book, including belles lettres, cannot help but have an influence on its mission and on writing as a profession.

The crisis in literary life was made still worse by the dispersion and decay of criteria for assigning values in literature, producing chaos, which resulted from applying criteria and inadequacies in the way literary criticism functioned. Elements contained in the famous slogan about "the nation's moral and political unity" blurred and falsified the lines delineating the various divisions existing in our society. The pursuit of this "unity"



in literature and the literary milieu was all the greater error the deeper the divisions in society were as to world outlook and aesthetics.

One of the sources underlying the dissolution of literary life was the unprecedented interest the Western centers of ideological and political sabotage took in our literary community. The destruction of it was an important element of the all-out struggle waged against socialism in Poland, a battle which included all areas of our society's life. Culture, especially literature, has always been a field which has facilitated the preparation and implementation of attempts to bring the downfall of socialism in our country.

Let us also mention one other phenomenon which has had an impact on literature and the writers' community, the fact that numerous church institutions have been assuming a more and more important role as patrons of literature. It is important for us to be aware of the actions of patrons other than the socialist government, ones with different or antagonistic ideological and political goals, because we are facing the difficult task of bringing literary life back to normal.

The basic causes of the crisis which siezed the literary community during the 1970's were located outside the range of cultural phenomena, in the exact sense of that word. Writers who over the years had turned in their party membership cards did not do so merely because of errors or weaknesses in the functioning of cultural policy. Many became subject to the adversary's demagogy, and others took advantage of certain political events as a pretext for revealing political views which did not fit within the party's program and had been previous concealed. Still others simply caved in to their emotions and reacted spontaneously and hysterically to instances of severity imposed by the political struggle waged against the enemy in the situation where national existence was threatened. Some of them operated under the dictates of the forces striving to bring about a change in the political situation in our country and a change in our country's international situation, and they went over to take active part in the opposition.

Therefore it was not the lack of renewal or the worsening of cultural economic conditions which made some of the writers commit themselves to the side of the anticommunist forces. Also going over to the side of the political opposition in the 1970's were many of those whose books had constantly enjoyed large editions, those who had accepted proof of recognition on the part of officials and even had enjoyed their great favors.

#### Postulate of Cultural Activity

During the period of the campaign before the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, we became aware of the major sources of error, including error in the realm of culture. The resolution of that congress set down a program to overcome it. Recognizing culture as a manner of the nation's life, the party is treating working people's active participation in these values as a fundamental standard for measuring the development of culture.

This means not just concern for an suitable level of access to the good things of culture for rural and workers' communities but also that selection of values which will provide for an understanding of the world of social phenomena, proper orientation as to old and new processes, the raising of the intellectual disposition, and the formation of proper attitudes.

Such a task can be filled by creativity which is rich in thought, sensitive to ethical problems, and cognizant of the wealth of ideas which make up the foundation of any sort of humanism. This task can be effectively carried out by art and literature with high artistic values, because they otherwise lose their force and power of suggestion. This must be art which is both rich and varied, art which is adapted both to the various levels of artistic competence and to personal needs, to various experience and expectations. Humanism, a high artistic level, richness, and variety are a condition essential to the development of socialist culture. This is the very foundation of our respect for all sorts of creativity inspired by the deals of humanism as reflected in high artistic values.

This may represent the plane for understanding among artists with various world views and various philosophical orientations and even various political convictions. Our view of humanism which coincides in recognizing many values with other types of it is made different by knowledge about the practical ways of building a world free of injustice. Our tolerance towards other forms of humanism and towards other world views stems not from our weakness but from our deep conviction as to the value of our cognitive and ideological formation. The moral authority of intellectuals, of artists, in the communist movement must always be high. This is proved by the history of the international and Polish workers' movements. If it eroded in Poland during the recent years of crisis, this was not in line with the party's intentions but was the result of a combination of various factors and shortcoming peculiar to the Polish intelligentsia, as well as the abuses swaged through the demagogy of our political adversaries. We are anxious to rebuild the moral authority of the scholar, the writer, and the artist, as an expression of recognition for creative work. We think that the most effective way to rebuild this moral authority will be to expand the social scope of artistic works. We are not stopping at intentions. During the deepest socioeconomic crisis Poland faced, we have been practically bringing about an increase in publishing, treating the book as the most important, richest conveyor of intellectual and emotional values. In increasing book production we are trying to improve publishing policy. We are concentrating our attention on those institutions which can expand the social circulation of literature, in libraries and reading rooms.

There are many problems of great importance involving practical and organizational matters, very fundamental ones, in which the writer's voice should be heard. One plane for such an exchange of thought could be the National Council of Culture and other groups around government institutions and party echelons. In these groups social reasoning is weighed, and proposals for action come into being. The reorientation of the goals of cultural policy presented in the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress calls basically for improving the operations of many institutions which

serve culture. Throughout the entire period of martial law the party did such work. In the system of our society an important role has always been played by the associations bringing together the artists as institutions cooperating with the political organizations, government institutions, and the social organizations and facilities specializing in culture. We cannot ignore their role, nor can we agree to the abuses in these groups which admit adversaries of our system.

It is the duty of party groups responsible for cultural affairs and the duty of party artists to be ever vigilant to see that culture, that literature, has the most favorable conditions for development. This involves pointing out any worsening of conditions. Let us admit that party organizations of writers have always sounded such an alarm, that they have always fought for the best conditions for the development of literature. It was the authorities' mistake that the voice of party writers was not always heeded.

There are many various conditions for the development of literature and the raising of the society's literary culture. We are pointing out those which are most important.

First the flourishing of literary creativity requires that there be towards it a clear active cultural policy providing an incentive for the desired trends and giving priorities in keeping with our ideological principles, while at the same time respecting the many different currents of world view and aesthetics.

The policy of the party and the government towards literature and literary life has a tradition of openness and tolerance. This openness and tolerance has often even exceeded the limits of political and ideological clarity necessary in our system.

The principles of the party's cultural policy defined at the Ninth Party Congress affirmed that freedom of artistic expression is protected. The legal regulation of the principles of censorship also underline this liberty. Our country's publishing policy is and will continue to be open to the writings of authors with various world views, provided they share the concern for the good of socialist Poland.

At the same time we reject writing directed against People's Poland and against the socialist regime. We want Polish literature to portray great human passions, for it to create a climate of understanding and cooperation among all Poles and with other nations, for it to testify to the changes, successes, and dangers which our nation shares, for it to be a lively memoir of the unfalsified history of our country, and for it to shatter taboos, because the existence of taboos always increases the opportunities for our adversaries.

The government's patronage is an important element in implementing the party's cultural policy. The government's care and protection of artists will be maintained and expanded. The scope and effectiveness of it will

be increased, especially to the younger generations of writers. Keeping in mind the attack permitted following August 1980 on our socialist state, we must state clearly and unequivocally that our people's state will not be reduced to the role of clerk, that in materially and morally supporting the development of various areas of art, it will be concerned with their ideological and artistic values.

Under socialist conditions as under those of other sociopolitical systems, there is no room for disinterested patronage. In stating this view we are not giving ourselves the right to thrust on artists formal solutions or to limit areas of content, but we are not giving up the use of preferential treatment for works which grow out of ideological and world-view inspiration close to us.

Second, the development of the society's literary culture is based on the assurance of rapid, continual improvement in the technical-material and organizational conditions for production and dissemination of books. Just, universal access to the riches of culture, especially books, for the basic classes of our society, as the Ninth Party Congress affirmed, is a major standard of measure for the quality of our cultural policy. The literary culture of society and the very development of writing face great threats as the result in the many years during which conditions for the production and dissemination of books have become worse. Aware of this fact the party has given priority to the issue of books and accessibility to them. We already see the effects of this: an increase of more than 30 percent in the production of books in 1982 was achieved at the request of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski as the result of tremendous effort to set in motion the printing industry and associated industries and to activate the publishers themselves. We face the task of turning this ad hoc jump into continual rapid strides. All available material and organizational means will be activated to turn this goal into a reality.

We are also aware that for writers and for satisfaction and access to their creativity, the books written by them must reach readers faster. This presents publishers and printers, libraries and bookdealers with concrete, difficult tasks.

Third, the conditions for the development of writing and literary life in our country will be incomplete unless the Union of Polish Writers along with the society and officials can get around the problems making partnership and cooperation impossible. The situation in the Union of Polish Writers, which is the result of the processes which have taken place over the past few years, greatly concerns all those who want to restore our social and cultural life to normal. We must therefore be aware of the causes underlying this state of affairs and assume a firm position towards it.

Confrontations in the Main Administration of the ZLP

The "pre-August" conceptualization of the Union of Polish Writers, bolstered by the personal moral authority of J. Iwaszkiewicz, his deep concern

for the fate of national culture, and a constructive program to defend the interests of writers and the social importance of literature, protected the ZLP from the trends which always threatened to turn it into a field of open political confrontation. Iwaszkiewicz acted as mediator and quieted the waves of authors' passions. In his time less than after "August" there was talk about pluralism, but the tolerance which is a condition to it was then a real fact in the literary community.

Antisocialist groups in the literary milieu previously restrained with difficulty at the election meeting of the Warsaw section in November 1980 openly sought leadership over ZLP and achieved this goal at the 21st congress in November of that year. Then various means to limit the democratic freedom of electors were employed. There were also antidemocratic structural changes which broke down many years of ZLP tradition, and as a result of them, for example, section chairmen were removed from real participation in the work of the main administration. Officially these groups adopted the tactic of allowing certain party writers to take part in ZLP leadership, but J. J. Szczepanski clearly stated that these party writers were participating in the administration he directed as individuals, not as party representatives or people expressing the views of the writers' milieu. Behind the screen of "partnership" and participation of party writers in the ZLP leadership between December 1980 and December 1981 a lively political activity developed with a decidedly KOR and "Solidarity" flavor. It consisted, for example, of intensive penetration of workers' groups within the framework of readings and meetings organized by "commissions on cooperation with the trade-union movement," and the only cooperation was with "Solidarity," and a special team of lecturers was created for this purpose, consisting mainly of people such as T. Burek, A. Drawicz, J. Glowinski, K. Orlos, M. Nowakowski, A. Kijowski, P. Wierzbicki, and S. Kisielewski, whose political and intellectual identity were closely related to KOR, "Zapis," "NOWA," and often a long cooperative association with antisocialist groups.

Full support was also given to the Committee on Cooperation With Artistic and Scientific Societies, which was the central force directing efforts to create a managerial center and program in culture and science independent of the government. Such a program was brought to light in the course of the meetings of the Congress of Polish Culture, interrupted on 13 December 1981, before the intended declarations and resolutions were undertaken.

Suspension of ZLP activity was therefore the consequence not only of the protests against the introduction of martial law which the ZLP leadership organized right after 13 December but mainly of the natural consequence of the political situation created within ZLP in 1980 and 1981.

People tried to reactivate ZLP just about from the beginning of 1982, but on none of the occasions up to the present moment were the ZLP leadership's declarations of loyalty or those made by its chairman accompanied by any recognition of the need to introduce changes to delimitate the dictatorship of antisocialist groups within ZLP leadership. This attitude must

be recognized as being conditioned by political factors outside the literary community or the borders of our country.

The writers' organization, like ZASP-SPATiF, was selected by the anti-socialist opposition as an institution with high-ranking moral authority, to serve as a substitute political party with an orientation other than socialist. At this moment a struggle is going on to keep ZLP in this role. It is allegedly the interests of literature and the problems of the literary milieu that are at stake in this struggle.

The influence which enemies of socialism still have in the ZLP leadership continue to make it impossible to reactivate the organization. This situation is painfully felt by ZLP members. The officials have recently done a great deal to ease the material and professional difficulties of writers and have taken on the ZLP's social functions, raised authors' fees, and continued work to increase pensions and retirement benefits, undertaking important intervention decisions in this area. Writers have also been assured the conditions for continuing to make trips abroad necessary to their work, and the number of such trips hardly decreased during the period of martial law. Much effort was devoted to these issues by the Warsaw Party Organization and its activist group, which acted as spokesman for participation by representatives of all literary groups in the country, both party and nonparty, in solving these problems. This was facilitated by the work of the party writers' group of the Central Committee's Culture Department.

Nevertheless, all measures to ease the inconveniences stemming from the country's difficult situation have not been entirely fruitful given the fact that the writers' professional artistic organization is not in operation. We feel that everything possible should be done to restore ZLP to its operation in keeping with our country's political and legal order.

We think that it would be a grave loss to literary culture and writing in Poland to either dissolve ZLP or to keep in it the leadership of anti-socialist political groups. This is a point of departure for discussion concerning the questions of restoring literary life to normal. It is essential to formulate and mention correctly the clear principles for the operation of the writers' organization in our socialist country.

These Are the Principles:

1. In its statute and in its practical activity, the authors' organization must accept and respect the principles of the socialist regime. The practice of turning ZLP bodies into groups which engage in political struggle against socialist legal order and the socialist regime cannot be reconciled with these principles. Therefore the government cannot tolerate the presence in the organization, especially its leadership, of persons who are waging active political opposition to the constitutional principles of our regime, such as KOR activists, the editors of ZAPIS, or people who cooperate with the centers of political sabotage like Radio Free Europe or the Literary Institute (Instytut Literacki) in Paris. Any body which accepts for

membership any activists of antisocialist political opposition will lose the authorities' trust as a partner and forfeit representation in the community.

It is not possible for Zdzislaw Najder, director of the Polish broadcast of Radio Free Europe to remain on the rolls of the Union of Polish Writers. Nor can the presence of active collaborators with the Paris KULTURA magazine on the ZLP main administrative board be tolerated.

The basis for accepting people for membership in the writers' organization may be a creative contribution published only in official publications and periodicals in the country, not in subversive or underground publications. Therefore, the acceptance of Jacek Bieriezin into ZLP on the basis of the book of his poetry published by the Literary Institute in Paris is therefore flagrantly in violation of this principle.

2. Government authorities accept the self-governing nature of the writers' organization, basing their relations with it on partnership. This partnership means in practice the mutual respect of the jurisdiction of the partners, and the right to present warnings and criticism. The writers' organization should have a share, like other creative communities and unions, in the creation and implementation of the government's cultural policy. In the line of this understanding of partnership and cooperation, the government will not turn over to the union's officials the instruments of cultural policy, that is, publications, periodicals, literary funds, or dissemination, but will insure writers a share in creating cultural life as members of an advisory and expert bodies, deputies to the Sejm, members of the National Council on Culture, officials, parties, and social organizations, participants in the publishing program councils, periodical groups, and so on.

3. The differentiation of the writers' community in terms of aesthetics, world view, and ideology requires that the writers' union respect the basic principles allowing for understanding and cooperation on behalf of the professional interests of writers, their great dignity, and the development of literature and its widespread influence on society.

The existence of a professional artistic organization of writers in Poland by nature must be based on adherence to the principles of tolerance. This means as a consequence that the union's bodies provide the services described in the by-laws to all members without exception, regardless of their world view or sentiments, their membership in legal political parties or social organization, or the functions they perform in them. In the light of this view of the principle of tolerance it is unthinkable to recognize the resolution of the 21st congress of the ZLP which discriminates against members of political parties and groups, of representative bodies, or of government administrative structures.

An important element in shaping proper relations within the writers' organization is adherence to the principle of democracy. This is particularly important with regard to the unfortunate geographical fact that over 50 percent of the writers' milieu is located in Warsaw. Warsaw

writers, by virtue of their numbers and therefore their majority of the electorate and easier access to publishing, periodicals, radio and television, have a privileged professional position in relation to their other colleagues spread throughout the country. The practice employed up to 1980 in the ZLP, which assured full legal membership in the main administration to all section chairmen, somewhat eased the effects of the poor geographical structure of the literary community. We are in favor of restoring this practice.

The writers' community's internal differentiation must not build up its officials by way of a struggle for the hegemony of one group over the whole, as took place at the congress in December of 1980, because this leads to ignoring the basic goals and purpose of existence of the writers' organization. The principle of so-called coalition in shaping ZLP leadership insures in elections practice that all significant (except anti-socialist) groups and communities operating in the union will be represented in the leadership. Such coalition should be the basis for the practice of understanding and feedback in the writers' organization.

In drafting these principles, the political authorities are mainly keeping in mind the good of the writers' organization itself, insuring conditions for its proper functioning, and recalling the need for the union to respect the state's regime and its legal order. It is high time to call to consciousness the actions which have given rise to the current ZLP leadership and the fact that they have been aimed not so much at restoring the health of the union's internal situation, than improved partnership in relations with state officials, the upgrading of material working and living conditions for writers, or the creation of new prospects for development of their creative activity but more to insuring the rule of a group of people striving to create a new group in place of government institutions solely to direct culture within the framework of an "independent republic," as it is called.

In an organization based on the laws in effect in People's Poland it is not possible to tolerate paid employees of foreign espionage services to become members or active collaborators of ideological sabotage groups to hold office.

In considering within the party writers' group the important questions of literary life and of the writers' communities, we must also take a stand on the matters brought up here, define the party's place and role with regard to literature and writers, and set tasks for writers who are members of the party and or party organizations in the community.

#### Let Us Make a Brief Self-Assessment

The party group of writers is going through the same processes that the whole party has been through in recent years. Membership in this group declined from 313 to 270 persons. In principle this was a positive process, because among those leaving the party were many writers who were politically lost but had remained in the party only through habit.



A few of them were removed from the membership rolls by the party organizations themselves, who correctly rid themselves of people who were harming the party by their views and actions.

The condition of writers who are members of the party and whole party organizations in the community is far better today. This does not mean that the severe divisions within the party have mended yet or that there has been a clear rise in activity in basic party organizations or in the discipline of various individual members. The positive processes are only beginning to be felt.

The experience of last year showed the undeniable ability of party writers' organizations to take constructive action. It was the very party which, during the period of the ZLP's suspension, became the only organized representative of the literary community, and it performed well in this role. Many party writers committed themselves to many projects on behalf of their colleagues in need of assistance, undertaking action on consultative bodies of the Ministry of Culture and Art to insure writers of uninterrupted foreign contacts and, equally important, of the possibility of availing themselves of fellowships and other forms of state assistance. Nobody, even the most disenchanted, can accuse party activists of categorizing their colleagues and dividing them into the groups of "ours" [party members] and "not ours" [not party members].

#### What Sort of Moral Models to Create

The writer who is a party member has taken it upon himself to bear additional responsibilities by virtue of his red membership card. These duties follow from his materialist world view and marxist ideology, and from the historically defined role of the party in the political life of the society and the state. They pertain mainly to the way of managing one's own talent. Therefore the individual party task of the communist party writer includes what mainly falls within the realm of his personal creative work. This task implies basic questions for literature and the content of literary life: What sort of hero will his creativity produce? What sort of moral models is he to accept or reject? What sort of model and what sort of way of development is socialism to facilitate? What sort of ways should he keep the party company in its task of political leadership in the nation?

This means the expectation that party writers will use their creativity to give moral support to a party which has grown out of the aspirations of the working class and the whole progressive tradition of the nation. Today, better than ever before, I understand that the party affiliation in creativity does not mean noncritical affirmation but the revealing of social evil, the search for confirmation that the road selected has been the right one in one own experience and that of the entire nation, the pointing up of dangerous shortcomings, and the difficult work of deepening the values of human existence.

Now when the nation will be summing up the 4 decades of its postwar efforts and these calculations are going on in an era of crisis, party writers are faced with the task of defending human awareness from a loss of the conviction that there is some sense to these 40 years which have seen the contribution cumulatively of the life of several generations of Poles. When the enemy attacks the contribution of People's Poland, it is not enough to draw up an honest straightforward balance-sheet of economic achievements and failures of these generations. It is literature itself that can supply the society with intellectual arguments to bolster the sense of our having made the right choice in selecting the socialist way of development, the right choice undoubtedly although this choice has not been without the bitterness of inadequacies or of opportunities not exploited to the full. The society is waiting for a great literary picture of the 40-year period. It may be that the artistic vision of it will be the work of party writers.

The duties of the communist writer are great, and the conditions for carrying them out are very complicated. The party writers have the burden of great courage and consistency in showing and defending the materialist world view and hierarchy of socialist ideological and moral values. Here we often see a faulty presentation of the problem of the relationship to pluralism. For communists this means in practice toleration of other world views alongside an active attitude on the offensive in propagating and defending our own system of ideological values. This gives the party member the obligation of engaging the adversaries in straightforward criticism and debate. Among the active, the party-member writer must be the most active.

We cannot be indifferent to works which lie about the past; which often come into being to meet the political needs of adversaries, which give an incorrect picture of the present day, often using the phrase "bringing lies out into the open." Programmed ideological inspiration is the most important method, but it is unfortunately not fully used by the party as a means of having an impact on literature and, more broadly, on culture.

Operating in the complicated realm of creativity growing out of a tradition with many world views and currents, the party does not want to command or prohibit, and it must not. Experience acquired to this extent in the past is adequately impressive. The basic instruments of the ideological offensive in literary creativity are the various forms of inspiration. The need for this vital action on the part of marxist sources of literary criticism inspired by our ideology of journalism and essay-writing, lively disputes over literary events, and, what is more, the creation of literary programs produced by party groups is obvious. Meanwhile most instruments, including journals, publications, radio, and television are staffed by "comrades," but in practice this in no way means that we have the initiative in terms of program.

The basis, ideological inspiration, and joint actions of party writers will be of fundamental importance in changing the political situation in the literary milieu, and in creating a climate for the fruitful development of contemporary Polish literature.

# Chief Editor Commentary

Warsaw ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 10, 6 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Wladyslaw Machejek, [editor-in-chief of ZYCIE LITERACKIE]:  
"The Union of Polish Writers Must Exist!"]

[Text] The All-National Meeting of Writer PZPR Members in the Central Committee hall on the fifth floor. My heart rose in my throat when I looked at some of my colleagues whom I would never have guessed belonged to the party or stayed. "No hatred will take my party membership card away from me," threatens Jerzy Putrament in his address. Tadeusz Holum says in his speech: "How many books would it be if we counted one for each?"

The speech of the PZPR Culture Department delivered by Kazimierz Molek published in this paper on pages 4-5 [translation of which precedes this article] and the statement of meeting participants which comprised the basic content of a meeting of many hours on 25 February, relieve me of the duty of giving the details, so I will give my impressions.

The session was chaired by the culture department director, Prof Witold Nawrocki, accompanied on the podium by secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo; Central Committee secretary Waldemar Swirgon, Minister Kazimierz Zygulski, who, despite the fact that is not a party member, seems anxious to dismiss any of the members' weaknesses in marxism and bolshevism, and the abovementioned Kazimierz Molek, deputy director of the department.

It did not seem boastful to say that this meeting and its results were being awaited by not only the writers of Poland but also by part of the intelligentsia under the spell of not clearly revealed splendors under the standard of the suspended Union of Polish Writers. What is cooking in the pot? At what stage are the talks with the suspended ZLP main administration, which (on the whole) had no great love for the socialist government either before the introduction of martial law or after its suspension, and did not hold back its liking for "Solidarity," as it stated in an antigovernment message broadcast by Radio Free Europe. The increase of this liking rested to a great extent with the antisocialist and anti-Polish factions. Someone might ask: How could they express their liking, approval, or disapproval, inasmuch as they were suspended? Let us not kid ourselves, as one of the comrades put it. They met as usual, at least most of the administration or presidium did, and that is an open secret. Expectations and I would say some sort of impatience grew up after the suspension of the activity of ZASP and then after its dissolution. So then, what is cooking in the literary pot? It depends who you are talking about, but party writers after all must know, the contemporary decision-makers, or the cover will not be on straight. That is good, and surely we have the "other side" to thank. What was going on there in secret? Shoving. In reality the average member of the suspended ZLP felt that he was suspended in a vacuum, and the party member, even the

activist, in a bout of humor, managed only the reply of Kissinger, who, when asked by journalists what was going on in the summit talks between Nixon and Brezhnev, said that he did not know, that he was always ten steps behind.

We heard something about the talks which Jan Jozef Szczepanski had with Minister Tejchma last May. We heard about an exchange of letters between the chairman and Minister Zygulski with a long list of signatures by the members of the board of the suspended ZLP. Some board members countered that they had not signed anything unpleasant with respect to the policy of Gen Jaruzelski's government. Nevertheless, there is nothing to show that the "suspended" administration or its presidium was inclined to denounce the errors committed in 1981 when "Solidarity" was running the show, or to condemn the policy of the extreme right larded with Trotskyite KOR (concretely, personally penetrating officials of the ZLP), approving Poland's slide toward catastrophic civil war, and in turn they did not protest the interference by imperialist Western propagandists in the matter which after all was an internal one between Poles. Board members with connections with propaganda and financial groups in the West, some of whom have been named, could not do this. Minister Zygulski came out harshly against the mincing words and half-truths of defenders of the main administration. There is no question of bringing back the union's activity without personal assurances (a more complete, concrete text will be familiar to readers from the television programs). The accusations appeared mainly in the talks by Janusz Roszka, Kazimierz Kozniewski, Janusz Przymanowski, and Jozef Lenart, plus two or three lucid sentences by Twerdochliby from Gdansk. (The chairman's accusations of extremism left out God and truth). Tadeusz Drewnowski and Marian Grzesczak talked about the diabolical nature of the policy of the suspended administration. How did the people present in the room respond to this? They applauded, although sometimes the applause was for temperament and swiftness. The attack got the upper hand. Drewnowski listed the virtues of the main administration elected in December 1980, whose meeting was held in great euphoria, with Warsaw Solidarity's leader Bujak. The hysteria reached the point where his hands were kissed, and there were promises to throw books by leftist writers out of the libraries and bookstores and to fill shelves with books published by the illegal publisher NOWA. Tadeusz Drewnowski nonetheless says that the group of party activists (including him as deputy chairman) managed to get elected to moderate and ease the impassioned waves, and, as a consequence, back before 13 December the extreme wing was eliminated in the influence within ZLP. Marian Grzesczak said straight out that the sins of which the present administration is accused is a minor thing compared to the various rows which occurred in the time of the much-revered Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, who is presented as the model of the possibilities for constructive cooperation between the ZLP main administration and the people's government. (But here we should mention that at that time in the main administration, which was after all never politically uniform, the predominating atmosphere was a sense of the rightness of things in the various squeezes made worse by the West, and this was probably to the personal credit of the chairman). There was some defense of what Kozniewski had said, and then others countered the notion of the administration's good intentions, because they never made a single move

in the direction of the government being repressed by the West for the frustration of Polish forces to deal with the national catastrophe. They did not say a word against the West's intrusion, or assumption of an antisocialist role on the part of the opposition. They did not want to help quiet the part of the Polish intelligentsia which had become hysterical. Somebody in the discussion cut down the notion that the suspended ZLP administration had done good things and pointed out the trends to remove -- with the added help of main administration commissions in the work of the appropriate section of the Ministry of Education -- previously acclaimed school reading material, such as Nalkowska's "Medalions," Maria Dabrowska's "At a Country Wedding," and Igor Newerly's "Memoirs from Cellulose," in favor of new stars, among which were -- count them -- three works by the chairman. Drewnowski categorically opposed the notion that the main administration had officially appointed such a consultative group or that the chairman somehow had influenced the decision regarding the reading material. But then why was a full list of the readings under discussion never published during the period of this famous "democracy"? Maybe Minister Faron will dare to do it?

On my way to the meeting I had expected us to be talking more about purely literary matters, issues related to the work of writers, to publishing, and to social issues. If I am correct, the officials expected that too. True, there was talk about the hope to increase book production (by 30 percent in relation to last year, to a total of 175 million copies; Minister Zygulski promised that an annual continual rise of 10-12 percent is anticipated), and true, it was noted that writer's fees were rising from the depths where they had remained so long. Jesionowski mentioned the average writer's pay of 4,000 zlotys per month, and Janusz Przymanowski said that he felt jealous when he read the recruitment posters in the streetcars listing salaries and equipment (warm boots and three ties) for railroad workers. And true, notice was given of the increased social services (thanks to the appropriate commissions of the Ministry of Culture and Art) and the fact that now "it is not the author who is published but his work," which means that even an emigre or opposition writer is not crossed off the publishing plan for his political views. An example is the eternal enfant terrible Slawomir Morzek. Well, that is something else. These writers avail themselves not only of patronage in the West and from the church but also that of the people's state, which can have a bearing on the means and attention devoted to writers with socialist commitment altogether, those who are always against counterrevolution (Jerzy Grzymkowski spoke with bitterness and anger to this last point and received rather lively applause). All of this indeed did get talked about, but the force of the department's report and of all the speeches (including those of the officials) was directed at the question: whether or not the ZLP should be. It was like before the war at a rural wedding, the playing of music, the shouts of "sour" and "sweet," the drinking, eating with the food to be appreciated the next day, and people waiting for the fighting in the evening. Only here nobody decided to shatter any lamps. In the dark it would be harder to find anyone. To be or not to be?! Everyone was for! Both those picked the main administration and its presidium to pieces and those who wanted nothing to do with that for anything in the world, those who wanted to accept the union along

with its by-laws and those who wave their arms at the by-laws and say that they are separated from life and keep the union separated from the political situation in the country the moment it is attacked by Western imperialist provocation, contrary to the social and professional interests of the membership; and those who say that the union's existence is basically an issue of tertiary importance because the "battle" is over the union's political success and the victory by forces inimical to socialism. Kazimierz Kozniowski emphasized that the the main administration's policy rhymed with "Solidarity's" policy, and it is a question of having it rhyme with socialism. But they were all for [restoring the union one way or another]. Although the union after all did not help any writer in the writing or publication of a book. Although we have to be against those tendencies which started to get the upper hand during the time of "Solidarity," so that the union (dominated by the right) would take over or at least have control over publishing, publications, radio, and television. For ZLP! How to do it? Ideas current at one time that the union be divided up into sections disappeared. Such ideas were brought up back at the stormy 20th congress in Katowice, and they were opposed by Jerzy Lukaszewicz. There is to be one union. What for? To defend the professional interests of writers, to defend the honor of the book, to defend the freedom of the book under the auspices of socialism.

Restore ZLP activity under what conditions? This is set down in detail in the report, in the statement voted on by the overwhelming majority at the meeting. The screen of the secrets will at least be removed. The conditions are hard, but the government, made wise by experience, is now blowing on what is hot. What is there to hide here? The conditions are hard but for once clear. A friend of mine asked: "Can't we, the party, stand for an abolition act?" Yes, the presidium replied, but for those who admit the errors and renounce any moves to associate with the anti-socialist moves made by the West. Minister Zygulski and secretaries Swirgon and Barcikowski spoke to this point.

Nobody's crown will fall off his head, if he admits and renounces his errors. We can take the model of self-criticism and self-evaluation from the party. We did this to the point where we lost our wind, pushed on somehow to the point of dropping. With regard to ZLP, we are operating on the basis of a hand outstretched. A hand outstretched not to those who "chose to be enemies of socialism." They will not stop being so under the influence of our persuasion. We have to talk not only about what the administration did but also about what it did not do to bring the intelligentsia to its senses. A sense of honor? Let us put this off. It must give way to public duties. If anybody would use the opportunity to try to turn the clock back to before 13 December, then he does not suffer a fear of internal or external threat. Someone once put forth the wise or not so wise hypothesis that Poland is to be some sort of transit station for the flow of cultural values. But this was during the time of detente. Today imperialism has selected Poland and artists' organizations as the platform for ideological struggle. It is to the party's credit that we got Poland away from a war. There are too many people in the United States eager for war, right down to the last Pole. Now they are

smothering us economically, to get us into social conflicts. For example, there is the threat that literature will be taken abroad, out of our country. Surely antisocialist literature will find itself there where it has been and already is, not in our country.

This comment is a footnote to two or three statements in the discussion warning against a hardness of conclusions which inclines some authors who are not solid to write for Polish-language periodicals and publishers in Paris, London, and Stockholm, financed using American money turned over to Polish travelling salesmen with well-known literary names. The first share of Uncle Sam's "disinterested" subsidy--a thousand dollars!

But the Union of Polish Writers must exist! How do we get to this? Janusz Przymanowski warned against bribing people who are flighty, who are always out to protest, and always bought off by officials, which weakens party morality. Marian Grzesczak sees the way out, since the conditions have already been set down, in a roundtable conference, in the shape of a sort of literary PRON. He and Drewnowski are convinced that after the restoration the main administration will allow itself to be dismissed and will give way to a congressional commission, a coalition, which will prepare things for a 32nd congress of ZLP delegates, and it is to be understood that there is to be no basic party organization discrimination. According to the by-laws the congress should be held late in autumn of 1983.

Without any discrimination over the basic party organizations. At one of the meetings of the Krakow section of ZLP -- Janusz Roszko spoke about this, with Holuj mincing no words in his bitterness -- there was a hostile view that any foreign element, like the POPs [basic party organizations] should be excluded from ZLP life. Therefore, in the future structure of ZLP party members must be safeguarded so as not to be dependent on whether the extreme right in the union likes them or not.

Hence, what to give or not give? If nobody can afford it...But if things do not come together, then culture and the good of writers will suffer.

And as a postscript, to support Kazimierz Barcikowski's comment (loosely noted) with the words Wojciech Jaruzelski uttered at the Warsaw PZPR conference:

"Artistic and creative groups do not exist for their own benefit. The material conditions for creative activity comes into being as the result of the workers and the peasants. Therefore the workers' party considers it unethical to have what is called an internal emigration of a host of representatives of cultural communities. Nor can we agree to antisocialist cultural activity or to its introduction into the ideological and political wilderness. In a socialist state culture and art are a great national issue, not a private little shop."

In closing, we are hopefully awaiting the resolution of the disputes, but the "West" too is waiting hopefully on behalf of its own interests. I do not believe that the overwhelming majority of the writers' community is powerless with regard to the Polish *raison d'etre*. I do not believe that the country means nothing to them. We must respond quickly, with facts, as a country.

The pen falls. We are all tired. I personally am for steering the ZLP towards professionalism. It is not good for policy to interfere in art or to reward courtliness, and it is not good for writers to try to replace politicians. Do we need such a bond?

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CSO: 2600/580



NEW CHINESE AMBASSADOR TO POLAND SPEAKS OUT

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 24, 12 Jun 83 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Yu Hong Li An, PRC ambassador to Poland by Mariusz Dastych; time and place not indicated]

[Excerpts] According to the last census, there were 1,031,882,511 people in China. The territories of our countries are different. We can mention only one concurrence: China, like Poland, is a country having a nearly homogeneous population--the Han--constituting 93 percent of the total. Between these two countries are both similarities and differences.

Ambassador Yu Hong Li An: I arrived in Poland not long ago. This is my first visit in your country. I think that I would be telling the truth if I were to say that I have come to a friendly country. Long distances and cultural differences between China and Poland are not obstructions to maintaining traditionally good relations. We can find traces of Poland in China and traces of China in Poland. For me, my work in Warsaw is much more pleasant and interesting, because I worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Polish matters, and this is the first time in my 25-year diplomatic career that I have been appointed to the post of ambassador in your country.

[Question] Mr Ambassador, I think that our readers would like to know more about the representative from the People's Republic of China.

[Answer] I do not have much to say about myself. I was born in 1927 in the central-eastern part of China in Shantung Province through which the Yellow River flows. I took part in the revolutionary movement. After that, I completed my university studies and entered the diplomatic corps in the 1950's. For the entire time, I have concentrated on the Soviet Union and the East European countries. During the 1960's, I worked at our embassy in Moscow and then in Romania and Yugoslavia. I paid a very brief visit once to our embassy in Warsaw. Immediately prior to my appointment as ambassador to Poland, I spent 10 years directing the ministry's department on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This department is concerned about China's relations with 9 countries: Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, DDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia and Albania.

[Question] The biography of a professional diplomat.

[Answer] Yes. I am on a mission in the name of my country and now my task is to develop friendly relations with Poland. However, this is not so difficult, because both nations have good impressions of each other.

[Question] But the Poles' knowledge of China and vice versa is not so good. For example, the last time I saw a Chinese film was in the 1950's. My friends and I used to go see some Chinese films before 1956; they were usually about guerrilla warfare; e.g., "Capture of the Mountain."

[Answer] This is a very old film. It is about the guerrilla war against the Kuomintang.

[Question] We know little or nothing about China's contemporary cinematography, television or literature.

[Answer] Cultural cooperation with Poland was working very well after the Second World War through the late 1960's. After that, a long interruption came. There is no reason now not to resume this former cooperation. It is most important that both nations want this. In the first years after the revolution, we saw many Polish films. I remember "Border Street" and "Warsaw Mermaid." The Chinese people have a strong admiration for the Polish nation, for its fight against the Nazis and for its splendid rebuilding of Warsaw. This mirrors the Polish nation's spirit of patriotism. Mazowsze twice has visited China. The last time was a long time ago, but the visit left a deep impression of Polish culture.

[Question] It is very nice for a Pole to hear these things. Let us return, however, to Chinese culture. What is new, for example, in film and television?

[Answer] In my province of Shantung, they are filming the famous Chinese epic called "Szechuan." It is about a peasants' uprising 800 years ago. The action takes place on the shores of the Yellow River and 108 actors take part. A television serial based on these events was recently made, and its popularity should last for a long time. Maybe someday it will be shown in Poland.

[Question] And film?

[Answer] We make about 110 movies each year. Some of them are good and we would like to show the better ones in Poland. Right now, contacts are increasing. This is very good. We would not like to restrict ourselves only to trade exchanges. China wants to exchange with your country science, technology, culture and sport.

[Question] My 11-year old son and his friends are very interested in the old Chinese sport of kung-fu, but Bruce Lee is from Hong Kong, which although Chinese does not represent the culture of contemporary China.

[Answer] We could show the Poles a lot about the traditional sports of China. I am glad that after an 18-year interruption, new sports contacts between our countries have been resumed. Not long ago our women's basketball team was in Poland and just recently a group of Chinese gymnasts left Warsaw after having participated at a tournament in Mielec. We have also invited to China your soccer team and basketball team. Polish soccer is among the best in Europe, so we can learn a lot from you.

[Question] ...and we from you--ping-pong and gymnastics.

[Answer] Small ball is played better in China and soccer in Poland. Women dominate Chinese sports....

[Question] They are probably more ambitious. They demand success.

[Answer] Before the revolution, Chinese women did not have anything to say; now they have the same rights as and are equal to men.

[Question] Yes, one even tried to govern in China. I am thinking about Chairman Mao's wife Jianqing, who played a rather unpleasant role in the Chinese Cultural Revolution. I observed these events firsthand during two visits to China in 1967. I did not understand much of what was going on, but I took part in the rally of 1 million youth at Tien Anmen Square in Peking. How is this situation looked upon now in China?

[Answer] The Cultural Revolution ended definitively in 1976. We lost many years. I can say that after the fall of the Gang of Four, the situation in our country is good and the economy is developing systematically.

[Question] ...but the mistakes still carry the consequences.

[Answer] Like I said, we lost many years. But with hard work, we have made up some of those years. We shall successfully implement the sixth 5-year plan. Not long ago there was a communique about the situation in our economy. The results are good; some are records. The economy is developing. We are carrying out simultaneously reform and economic regulation. The value of our production in 1982 increased by 9 percent as compared to 1981. National income increased by 7.4 percent. The 1982 plan called for smaller figures in those categories: production increase by 4-5 percent and national income by around 4 percent. The supply of primary agricultural and industrial goods is increasing most rapidly.

[Question] What conclusions can be made about the period of mistakes?

[Answer] A country, like a person, goes forward through experience and lessons. In 1982, the Twelfth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party took place. We evaluated this past period and criticized the ultra-leftwing, which brought to our country and party so much damage. We are now developing our economy step-by-step, taking into consideration the results of the first period of the cultural revolution, when investment was too big to handle.

[Question] Does this mean that China--the traditional "middle kingdom"--again wants isolation from the world?

[Answer] Just the opposite! In the area of the economy, we are introducing a policy open to the entire world, no matter how far away. We are guided by two principles: 1) to be self-reliant, and 2) to have equality and mutual benefit in China's relations with all countries. We would like to have economic cooperation with every country from which we can learn something new about modern technology, techniques and work organization.

[Question] China uses foreign investments in the form of direct investments or enterprises with foreign capital or mixed Chinese-foreign capital.

[Answer] This is true. In the modernization of the Chinese economy have participated economic organizations from West Europe (e.g., France) and also Japan, which have helped us to overcome technical problems associated with oil drilling along the China Shelf. The results are very good. We have used foreign capital without being blinded. We have imported the newest foreign technology, which is then used in China. We import technology from the West, not ideology!

[Question] What are the perspectives for cooperation with Poland?

[Answer] China's open policy, of course, also concerns Poland. Both of our countries are building socialism, in the direction of our national interests and with respect to specific conditions existing in our countries. Total equality and mutual trust--those are the bases of our future relations. Achieving such conditions for cooperation in the international arena is not easy.

[Question] Returning to cooperation, what possibilities do you see, Mr Ambassador, in the economic area?

[Answer] Here again the principle of equality enters the picture, without consideration for the size of the country nor for mutual benefits. We feel that Poland represents great potential in the economic area. We have oriented ourselves to the mutual possibilities and we are firmly committed to work closely with Poland. Not too long ago a delegation headed by the vice-premier was in Warsaw to discuss the coal industry. They were in Poland for 10 days, almost entirely in the mines. They returned with the best impressions. At the end of the visit, a protocol was signed calling for an increase in further cooperation and defining directions and real possibilities. During the reception for the Chinese delegation, I remarked that it was my hope that the protocol would lead to friendship and coal. Upon his return, the vice-premier reported to the government. An invitation already has been sent to the Ministry of Mining and Energy. It was received with great joy and soon a Polish coal delegation will go to China. The Poles will participate in the modernization of the Chinese coal industry. This is the goal of this cooperation.

[Question] Not too long ago I was in the mines in Silesia. One of the specialists told me about his work in China. He said that on one of his visits to China, he visited a mine that he had designed 11 years ago. It still is functioning well. Therefore, this cooperation already has existed.

[Answer] We highly value Polish experts and we shall develop economic relations in all areas that have mutual benefits for China and Poland.

[Question] Mr Ambassador, we often ask in our conversations about the family, manner of spending free time and hobbies?

[Answer] My family is small, but in Chinese conditions just right. We have one daughter, and my mother-in-law also lives with us. Four persons--three generations. Beyond my work, which takes up most of my time, I am interested in literature and sport. For my health and physical condition, I exercise daily with the Chinese gymnastics--tai chi szuan. This is very popular throughout China.

[Question] Thank you for the discussion.

[Answer] And I, through your magazine, send my greetings to all Poles and wish Poland development and prosperity.

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CSO: 2600/1037

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Bialystok Delegate Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 6

[Text] Preparations are in the works for the first voivodship congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in Bialystok. In the whole region, meetings of delegates are being conducted. In the capital of the voivodship over 100 meetings were conducted so far of people who care about national reconciliation, restoring good relationships among citizens of our country, working for the homeland in normal conditions, not disturbed by any shocks.

During the recent Municipal Conference of PRON there were 328 participating delegates, representing all districts of Bialystok, all circles and Bialystok's factories, youth and social organizations which had applied for membership to PRON.

To PRON's Municipal Council 100 people were elected--persons who enjoy the authentic authority of their voters, who have something to say in their circles and have energy to fulfill tasks given to them. Elected Chairman of the Council was Prof Wenecjusz Panek from the Warsaw University's [UW] branch in Bialystok. Among those selected there are a number of nonparty members as well as young people who let themselves be known during the conference, both by numerous participation and by raising essential questions during discussion.

During the debates of PRON's Municipal Conference 170 delegates were elected to the Voivodship Convention and 31 persons to the Voivodship Council of PRON and six delegates to the National Congress.

During discussions at the Municipal Conference and circle meetings heavy attention was paid first of all to the daily problems of Bialystok's citizens. Representatives of particular district dwellings postulated the improvement of streets, the development of commercial and service networks, paying more attention to the improvement of the districts' administrative work, the employees of which often treat the performance of their duties as a necessary evil. Points were raised about the necessity of increasing the number of pre-schools and apartments. A proposal was made that the year-long construction

of the Orbis Hotel at Marchlewski Street be allocated for rotating apartments. Representatives of Bialystok's factories discussed the necessity of cutting back all forms of material and raw material waste, mismanagement, the need to improve interpersonal relationships at work. Points were also raised about the improvement of living conditions; through liquidating cases of one person owning several houses among other things.

During the Municipal Conference the project of PRON's declaration was also discussed, ascertaining that the genesis of this movement reaches in its roots to early 1982 and that Bialystok may take pride in this field, because it was here where one of the country's first Citizen's Committees of National Salvation originated.

There are still a few days left to the voivodship congress of PRON. Today, however, the 6th of the month at 3:30 pm in the conference hall of the voivodship department a meeting of delegates from Bialystok for the voivodship congress of PRON will take place.

The first municipal parish convention of PRON took place in Choroszcza. Twenty-five persons were selected to the municipal parish council of PRON and 10 delegates to the voivodship congress. The council's chairman is Jozef Klus--a former worker of Specialist Psychiatric ZOZ in Choroszcza. He was also designated a member of the Voivodship Council of PRON along with Marian Ostrowski, fireman major, and with Jerzy Janucik--a worker of the local Agricultural Circle's Cooperatives [SKR], member of the Association of Socialist Polish Youth.

Participants of the convention discussed among other things the improvement of the city's water supply (not all buildings are connected to the water supply services network); the issue of building a new sewage system; perspectives of Choroszcza's "housing" development.

In summing up the debates, it was ascertained that the top task of PRON's Council is and will be aimed at environmental integration, for common action for the city and parish. Action which has to be undertaken for society, along with society.

It is characteristic that in the works of Choroszcza's PRON there is a quite numerous participation of young people. In the municipal-parish council there are 7 representatives of the Association of Socialist Polish Youth and among the delegates for the Voivodship's convention--2.

#### Suwalki Province PRON Activities

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 7 April 83 p 3

[Text] From the origins of the first elements of the Citizen's Committees of National Salvation [OKON] in the Suwaki region to the first voivodship congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth quite a few months have passed. It is a lot, considering the pace of changes

occurring, also those in the consciousness of society; it is a little, if measured in terms of the period needed for crystallizing the method of functioning of this movement which after all is not stipulated by rules, acts, statutes.

For comprehensive agreement there is no alternative--and with this statement almost everyone agrees. Not everyone, however, understands this highest requirement of our times in the same way. That PRON cannot be just one more model from the not-too-distant past, a body serving the good feeling of an authority--this is also agreed. Doubts have their origin where generalities end and hard facts begin. If not to serve authority, does it mean to control it? And if so, in what manner? Based on what criteria?

To approach the problem closer, before the beginning of the first voivodship congress of PRON we let activists of the movement express their views. They also have doubts, though to all of them a leading idea is dear--comprehensive agreement.

Zygmunt Gadomski,, vice chairman of the parochial city council of PRON in Pisz, nonparty member:

When we organized our Regional Commission for National Rebirth, not many were willing to cooperate. We were not politicians. We thought first of all of what needs to be set in order in our own yard. There were mistakes. At the beginning we often undertook impossible tasks. We managed, however, to solve many problems.

In a natural way, all those who "had an ax to grind" crumbled away. Finally a group of the toughest remained who decided to act with determination against all setbacks. Gradually we were gaining a certain popularity--people were coming to help settle all kinds of things.

The movement works without directives, a fact often criticized by some, but as it turned out--our work is compatible with the movement's ideological declaration.

Some members of PRON are already thinking of honors and awards. I think it should be a spontaneous movement and entirely social. We'd like to see in it authentic activists, not opportunists looking for advantages. It is not important what someone gives, but what one can give from himself.

We are worried by the relatively small participation of workers and youth in the movement. Youth should participate widely. It is also wrong to reason: "Show us what you do, then we'll join you." It would mean that some ought to create something while others stand aside. We have an equal duty to care for the future of the country of which we are citizens. One has to realize first of all that nobody will lead us out of the crisis.

PRON ought to cooperate with a wide range of organizations. It should be a transmitter of public opinion to authority. One ought not to cooperate, however, uncritically. The authority has to know our views in cases in which it makes decisions. I think this is the task facing the whole movement.



What do we expect from the voivodship congress? Not too much, really. It is to be an organizational meeting. We'd like to have authentically engaged people for voivodship and national authorities. It would be good if we found as many new faces as possible because old activities quite often use routine methods. The National Congress however ought to "place us legally" because for now we are acting in a way as a momentum of public opinion.

Adam Bemowski, nonparty member, mechanic of Communal and Residential Management Enterprises [PGKiM] in Suwalki, chairman of the Youth Commission:

At my yard, meaning in my factory, the idea of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth did not "catch" as it should. There are two reasons for this. First--perhaps a too limited orientation about the idea of the movement itself. Second--an apparent mistrust, resulting partly from the fact that among PRON's executives there are too many--this is the opinion of my friends--persons, of whom it could be said that they are not quite those whom we would like.

Thus, the problem exists of selecting people. We understand that during the first, impulsive period of the movement's origins, things were working in various ways. That is why electoral law is so important. I am decidedly for the elections on the voivodship level to be absolutely democratic, without a prior preparation of lists. And of course secret ones. It may happen that the same people who have been serving up until now will be selected for governing (not provisionally any more). The point is not necessarily to mention them. The point is, that people will not be convinced of the Movement if they have even the smallest pretext to say that something is not right.

"I agree with it completely", adds Krzysztof Jasinski, youth activist, recent member of the Polish United Workers' Party. "Just the sheer election procedure has quite a meaning for the future of the movement. It is, I know it well, particularly important for youth, for the young activists of PRON, who put a lot of emphasis on these things--and we had many proofs of it during several conferences.

"As far as more general things are concerned, I think that PRON ought to be a link connecting authorities at various levels with the citizen. Then, consultations and decisions worked out through it by the force of argumentation could convince the majority about its purposefulness."

Bemowski: If we are talking about agreement, what we are saying here is a broad understanding between government and citizens. One in which the channel of communication is mutual.

Jasinski: It is clear, and it has already been recorded in documents that this general channel is socialism. But within the framework of this general rule there is a vast field for discussion, settlements and even disagreements. The movement can and ought to be this platform of discussion, where the best ways of working towards a goal are elaborated, where various views can be voiced. And upon arriving at mutual agreement--to realize it.

Bemowski: I would broaden this even more. It is clear that not only party members are, generally speaking, outstanding specialists in some fields. There are plenty of them among practicing Catholics, and among others, for various reasons--not Marxists. PRON may become the place, where without compromising their own viewpoints and opinions, they can utilize their knowledge for the benefit of all.

We spoke here about consulting. If we accept--that authority--be it a prime minister, or a parish leader will not only ask for opinions, but will also include the opinion of those who inquire in arriving at a decision, then this will also be participation in governing.

Edward Dziegiel, farmer from Janowka, Wegorzewo Parish delegate to Sejm from the United Peasant Party, member of the Provisional National Council of PRON:

What makes me mostly content is the fact that PRON wants to become a mass organization, really encompassing wide circles of society. This movement gives hope to people who look toward the future, who know how to look straight ahead, to the future, where real comprehensive agreement can occur. [Hope] that this Movement will become an organization which unites a majority in realizing the most important tasks for everyone.

I speak about the future because for now it is not a massive organization. The reason for this is that there still is a sense of mistrust, and it's no wonder, because of the deep-rooted habit of standing aloof and passively observing the development of events.

I think that this situation will change once PRON will document by its engaging and receptive activity, the need for its own existence.

The conclusion of this is that PRON in its activities has to show a maximum of industriousness and simultaneously, which is even more important, a maximum of patience in realizing its ideals. There is the immensely important issue of widening a front of citizen's activity, without which not much can be done. And political parties alone have too narrow a base to transpose this activity on the widest social circles.

I repeat--this is a process which will involve a long period of time, thus one has to be patient, full of good will and wise action.

#### Bialystok PRON Chairman Interview

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview with Prof Wenancjusz Panek, chairman of the city council of PRON in Bialystok]

[Text] [Question] Mr Professor, you have been elected chairman of the city council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth in Bialystok. The city conference had quite a stormy course. Were you not apprehensive accepting the responsibilities of chairman under such circumstances?

[Answer] There is probably no responsible person who would not fear whether he could fulfill the serious tasks which I am at least trying to set forth working for PRON. But I have confidence in people, and discussion has only confirmed that someone has to reunite distrusting groups and pull them together to build mutual agreement. Among young people I clearly see an enthusiasm and an interest in PRON's activity, and these values I want and I have to use. The willingness and involvement of the young workers or students as well as the experience of fathers and grandfathers and their mutual reflectiveness ought to bring about significant results.

[Question] How does PRON attempt to work in the city?

[Answer] I think there are plenty of things to be done. They encompass the whole spectrum in time--are urgent now and some will have to be solved in the future. Among the present issues, for example, there is a need to establish an immediate commission for problem-solving, reviving work among young people, mainly in enterprises, universities, directing their interests issues of the city, circle, and region.

For a later period, but not too distant, we are leaving the issue of elections for national councils and Sejm, which PRON will consult. They have to be prepared and conducted in a democratic manner.

An example of distant but important issues is an idea of Bialystok University, which ought to become more concrete in the next few years. It is also a struggle against symptoms of social pathology in our city.

These are the most urgent issues, which require almost immediate action.

[Question] Certainly it cannot be done by one person.

[Answer] This is why--I always emphasize it--I count so much on the collective wisdom of the city council and cooperation with our council of a wide range of society in Bialystok. Personally I treasure collective advice a lot, because therein is hidden collective wisdom. In this advising system what comes from the heart is of great importance, wisdom taken from the mind, reflection or control being a function of life's experience. The city council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has such a warm heart, sober mind, and all the language of individual human experience, which as chairman I must know and want to extrapolate from this collective.

[Question] What would you consider essential and noteworthy in the movement?

[Answer] Obviously this is a social movement which ought to undertake the criticism of wrongdoings and degeneration, but not transforming this criticism into criticizing everything and everybody, because this easily leads to hatred. The people's government, the Polish United Workers Party along with other political parties and with millions of Poles, have learned a lot and are already able to draw conclusions. In my opinion one should not be afraid of criticism, as long as it is based on well-understood tolerance, respect for arguments, respect for the person utilizing arguments. PRON in this respect has a major task to perform--to aim for agreement among Poles based on methods of rational discussion, critical, wise and without doggedness.

It cannot be done immediately, suddenly, right now. This is a process which has to last. A long-lasting, comprehensive education and self-upbringing is awaiting us. I have grand hopes that it will be a promising activity and a satisfying one. But time is needed and a lot of patience.

[Question] What ought PRON to be in your opinion?

[Answer] The answer seems banal, commonly known but it has to be repeated. It is obviously clear that PRON is not a movement taking over the responsibilities of administrative powers in its region, nor replacing political parties. That would be the worst way to choose. PRON is a movement of people with good will no matter what professional and social role they perform, no matter what their views on the world and philosophical attitudes, no matter what their attitudes to religious faith or atheism, no matter what age, and then no matter whether it is youth or the right of retired people for rest--the desire to join with the help of substantial arguments for creating our common home, People's Poland, a socialist one, just one and good for all. The only method of this creation will be the solid work of hands and minds.

PRON ought to be then continuously and incessantly a social movement and it should not detour from this road. It will then grow in quantity and its meaning and prestige will increase. It has beautiful and valuable roots--in the enthusiasm of people with good will, gathering in Regional Committees for National Salvation and provisional units of PRON at moments of threat, against anarchy. These units have already done quite a lot of good things.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation

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#### Legnica Province PRON Congress

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by (kz): "PRON--A Permanent Factor in Political Life"]

[Text] Yesterday in Legnica the first Voivodship Convention of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] took place. The Chairman of the Provisional Voivodship Council of PRON, Marian Kowalik, opened the debates. At the convention 259 delegates took part for the 288 elected during the conference in the region's units.

There participated also, among others: the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR, Comrade Jerzy Wilk; chairman of the Voivodship Committee (WK) of the United Peasant Party (ZSL), Eugeniusz Hasiuk; chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the Democratic Party (SD), Janusz Chutkowski, and Legnica's mayor, Zdzislaw Barczewski.

Discussing the reports-programs campaign in particular units of PRON, Marian Kowalik said it was characterized by an honest and constructive discussion not only concerning local socioeconomic problems, but also concerning the place of movement in the political system of the nation. PRON--said the speaker--may be

defined as an attempt to include a wide and effective participation of citizens in decisionmaking. This movement is growing systematically in Legnica Voivodship, the number of people involved in the activities of this particular unit is estimated at about 7,000.

During the meeting a lively discussion occurred. Strongly accentuated was nonsatisfactory action in terms of natural environmental protection in the voivodship in its actual state was even defined as an ecological disaster. Also emphasized was the role of the movement in solving the current problems of the nation, and the ways of overcoming the crisis.

The first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PRPR, Comrade Jerzy Wilk, said among other things that PRON is becoming a permanent element of political life. Among its units many valuable initiatives are born. The speaker also pointed out a few such cases as working on creating a uniform method of education undertaken in Glogow; recruiting young people to active participation in the movement in Lubin, and solving urgent problems with health care in Legnica.

Legnica Voivodship at the first national congress will be represented by 18 delegates, besides the present members of the Provisional National Council of PRON. Fourteen were elected during the regional conference. The remaining four were elected by the participants of yesterday's convention. Those elected are: Jerzy Krysiak, Witold Luksza, Krzysztof Rauer and Karol Rymkiewicz. Participants at the convention also elected three representatives of Legnica's Voivodship to PRON's future National Council: Adam Gaik, Czeslaw Kawalec and Wojciech Pytlak. The convention accepted the program's decision defining tasks for the near future.

#### Wroclaw Province PRON Conference

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Text] Last Saturday in Wroclaw the voivodship conference of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth took place. Participating were members of the Provisional Voivodship Council of PRON and delegates to the national congress of PRON elected in the basic elements of the movement.

At the conference there also participated, among others, a member of the Politburo, the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party [KW PZPR], Prof Tadeusz Porebski, chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the Democratic Party, Prof Franciszek Bielicki, secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party [WK ZSL], Andrzej Hipsz, chairman of the Municipal Council of Wroclaw Voivodship and the City of Wroclaw, Prof Jozef Kaleta, Wroclaw Mayor Janusz Owczarek.

The meeting was led by the chairman of the Provisional Voivodship Council of PRON, Prof Ryszard Badura, who informed all gathered that during the electoral campaign in Wroclaw (just ending with this Saturday's conference), the movement of national rebirth has gotten stronger: the number of units and members has risen. In more than 300 units there are over 15,000 people. Twenty social organizations applied collectively to PRON. In the basic units--in districts and regions--already 32 delegates were selected for the congress.

At Saturday's conference elections of 11 more delegates were conducted. Those elected were: Jerzy Fielak from Archimedes Combined Pneumatic Equipment Works, Stanislaw Cierniak from Herbapol Krakow Herbs Works, Henryk Osumek from Rozanka Macaroni Works, Hieronim Zachwey from Dolam, Ireneusz Remkowski--law student, Piotr Kwiatkowski--farmer from Piszczowice, Wladyslaw Mazurek--farmer from Stobno, Col Henryk Hordejuk from the Silesian Military Region, Marian Garlinski--farmer from Borkowice, Tadeusz Niedzwiecki from Sobotka and Andrzej Witkowiak from Bierutowa.

Michal Los-Tynowski gave a report from the course of the election campaign, emphasizing that the end of the conference does not mean the end of discussion. Before the congress meets officially there will be still several discussion meetings in various environments. Results from these meetings, as well as materials and documents accepted by the basic units of the movement, will be forwarded to the Provisional National Council sometime before the congress convenes. The movement is still open to all who want to join it.

The flaw and main problems of the discussion at meetings so far in the units of PRON was discussed by Jan Plawnicki. He emphasized that they have not been limiting themselves only to registering petitions, but also strived for the fullest definition of goals and means of action for the movement of national rebirth. Also petitions set during Saturday's conference were related to both grand issues, encompassing the whole country and small issues, proper for--so to speak--solving on the spot.

Discussion was rich and lively. Seventeen persons expressed their opinions. Among others B. Janiszewska from downtown presented problems of educational developments, literacy and culture, which PRON should take care of; Col K. Sawicki reflected upon the historic opportunity facing the movement of national rebirth, bringing attention to its goals such as national reconciliation, moral renewal of society. P. Bartosiewicz spoke about the need for involving youth in more active participation in social life. Bogumil Plonka touched upon issues related to the health of society. Wojciech Kowalski stressed the necessity of basing PRON's work on the most noble mutual elements of the convictions of the movement's members with diverse points of view.

At the conference 5 members were chosen to the future National Council of PRON. Those elected were: Prof R. Badura from the Agricultural Academy, Jan Plawnicki--chairman of ChSS in Wroclaw, Michal Los-Tynowski--chairman of the Board of Pax Voivodship Division, Barbara Syrico--teacher from the elementary school in Pegow, Jan Mikoda--farmer from Domanow.

Besides the above mentioned persons and 43 delegates the Wroclaw region will be represented at the congress also by 7 members of the Provisional National Council of PRON.

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CSO: 2600/799

## CHIEF EDITOR OF PZPR WEEKLY ASSESSES PAPAL VISIT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 26, 25 Jun 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by Jan Bijak: "A Guest in Our Home"]

[Text] We have again had a brush with history, in fact with its most colorful shape. The pope's Polish pilgrimage had a political side, which is for a lay reporter the most important one. It was a religious event, which presented the Roman Church in its passionate struggle, full of contradictions and paradoxes, for the souls of people who will live in the next millenium, the third one for the church already. It gave us an opportunity to observe a phenomenon which is exceptional in our age, the personality of the pope and the Pole, who combines a historical vision of the world with diplomatic refinement, the intellectual ability of a philosopher and a writer with the belief and simplicity of a Podhale priest, and natural charisma and greatness with the grace of a good actor.

We have to get used to this changing church as if it were a new phenomenon and not an age-old institution, under the wings of which we have grown up and then looked outside it for answers to basic questions. In my tender years the mass would always end with the words "ite missa est," today I hear over the loudspeaker: "Go, offering has been made"; applause during the mass would be a sacrilege, today it is an inherent part of the liturgy; the language, which years ago was full of evangelical metaphors, today is a common language, which has left the pulpit and come down to the stadiums. The bitterness of these observations is not intentional. I am probably like the villager who had escaped to the city and then, upon coming back after many years, is upset that it changed instead of staying the same. The pope during his pilgrimage showed what the present, dynamic, and modern pastoralism is like, although, as has been true of great educators, their educational doctrines had one deficiency--they could be perfectly executed only by their creators.

Shortly before the pope's visit I read an article in PARIS MATCH by Rebert Serrou about the pilgrim and the goals of his pilgrimage. Citing an anonymous "Father S., a Pole (a close and trusted friend of the pope," Serrou listed mistakes which the pope could not afford to make. He must not:

"1. Take a step which would mean the recognition of the present authorities; 2. Keep quiet about the existence of political prisoners; 3. Avoid a meeting with Walesa; 4. Urge the Poles back to work, because work means loyalty to the regime."

I have quoted the anonymous, or, perhaps, fictional Father S., from a right-wing weekly which has millions of readers because it is an example of the clinical tone used to talk about our affairs in that region.

The pope must not do anything that would mean the recognition of the present authorities. And yet, these are the same authorities with which the Polish Episcopate conducts a dialog and with which it had arranged the pope's visit and, thus, which certainly must have been granted some form of legitimacy and acceptance. The pope does not love these authorities; he argues with them, both directly and indirectly, by means of skillful but readable allusions. But both the pope and the church in Poland know that there is no sensible alternative to these authorities if one is serious about sovereign Poland, which aims at stabilization and national reconciliation within the realities of post-war Europe. In a few basic matters the pope agrees with these authorities, hence his itinerary included a visit to Belvedere and an extended talk with the General; hence also the following words in his speech, going beyond the requirements of protocol: "I wish to add an expression of respect to all eminent representatives of the authorities and to each of you individually in accordance with your office, title, and individual responsibility, which each of you, esteemed sirs, bears toward history and toward your own conscience."

PARIS MATCH warns against keeping quiet about political prisoners in Poland. But who is doing that? Is it the Episcopate, which talks about it from the pulpits and demands an amnesty? Does the censorship office delete comments on this matter by activists of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]? How many times has this topic been discussed by the government spokesman or by the press? The pope did not keep quiet, either. He mentioned the prisoners almost in his first words at the airport by means of a quotation from the Scripture, but who did not get the meaning of it? They must have talked about it at the Belvedere as well, since Minister Urban stated the same day that the pope had been informed that 147 persons were still incarcerated at the time for politically motivated offenses. This number is of significance from the humanitarian point of view, but not from the political one, because considering the strong and dramatic social conflicts we have undergone, it is small. There is no mystery about the conditions which will allow their release.

The pope must meet with Walesa. Such a demand was made by PARIS MATCH, and if reporters are allowed access to the meeting place readers will be treated to another series of color pictures in the colorful columns of the French weekly. The pope can meet any member of his faith and any compatriot. The Polish Government believes that the choice of L. Walesa as the person with whom the Holy Father met was his [the pope's] choice. Walesa is no longer a partner for the state authorities. The pope had been informed that his meeting with Walesa, at the request of the Guest, would take place.



The last warning of PARIS MATCH: Do not urge the Poles to go back to work, because it would be an expression of their loyalty to the regime. I read the French press regularly, PARIS MATCH included. It is filled with calls to catch up with the Americans and the Japanese, to strengthen the French franc, to make exports competitive, and to catch up with the productivity of the top countries of the world. The newspapers sponsor the selection of "the best French female worker" and the exports champion. However, for us they recommend idleness and strikes as pedagogical treatment for the government, and they even try to win the pope over to this cause.

What a primitive concept of the papal mission and what a primitive understanding of the concept of work in the Catholic doctrine. Some time ago John Paul II quoted a letter of St Paul in his homily to the workers of Mainz: "It is those whom we wish to bring to order by ordering them with all determination in the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, so that they might peacefully go to work in order to be able to eat their own bread"; he made this thought even more concrete by quoting more precise and familiar words from the same letter to the Thessalonica inhabitants: "He, who does not want to work, let him not eat either." Work in the Catholic sense--as in the Marxist one--has a more fundamental meaning, and it is not just a means of satisfying material needs and a condition of continued human existence. Work enriches internally, it functions "within the framework of salvation" and co-creates the human being. "Build and do not destroy," appealed the pope at Jasna Gora. "At present the fundamental divisions exist between those who are building this country and those who are interfering with it," stated General Jaruzelski during the meeting at the Belvedere.

During the visit a convergence of views on two issues was noted, on both of which we share great hopes with our Guest: the defense of peace and removing the nuclear threat from the face of the world; and a concern for calm in Poland which was so beautifully worded by Paul VI, who was cited by the pope three times, like a musical phrase: "Poland plentiful and happy...in the interests of peace and good cooperation between the nations of Europe."

These issues cannot be separated: peace is a condition for and a chance to solve Polish problems. Successful resolution of Polish problems enhances peace. The ways to understanding between nations can serve as an example to reach an understanding within the national commonwealth in Poland.

When talking about the Gehenna of Father Kolbe, about the last war and Auschwitz, the pope spoke about the drama of mankind in the 20th century. This was a drama of mankind, but also of the church, because 2000 years of its pastoral work could not prevent the biggest war in history, the biggest crimes in history, and the use of the most horrible weapon. The war erupted in a region which had had the longest Christian tradition, the murderous industry was born in a country densely filled with sacral structures, and Hiroshima was hit by a bomb dropped by a pilot who later became a clergyman. This is not a charge; the aggressor had on his uniform belt the inscription, "Gott mit uns," while their victims sometimes wore scapulars. Father Kolbe was not the only martyr; that Austrian soldier who refused to shoot the innocent was one as well. All this, however, cannot prevent us from reflecting

on the faults of human nature and the results of actions, even if they are rooted in the most beautiful and pure ideas.

That is why there is a need for focusing all efforts, orientations, and actions on this particular sphere, which always has been important, but which is of particular importance today, because another war may bring total annihilation.

General Jaruzelski stated at the Belvedere: "Great anti-war appeal spreads all over the world. Peace is the highest goal today. People's Poland has always been in the front ranks of its staunch supporters and in the face of new threats she actively participates in the peaceful efforts of the socialist commonwealth and in its constructive initiatives. The government of the Polish People's Republic and Polish public opinion follow with great attention the momentous statements of the Apostolic See in defense of the common good of all nations: the right to live in peace."

The pope responded with the following words: "The memory of awful war experiences, visited upon the Poles and other nations of Europe, urges us to repeat our fervent appeal in the name of peace so that it might not be disturbed or endangered, and in particular that the means to secure it be applied quickly and successfully by way of honest and constructive negotiations to prevent a dangerous arms race."

The pope suggested that the principle of dialog, espoused by the church, be used as a fruitful basis for both the achievement of domestic peace as well as "good cooperation" between Poland and other nations of Europe and the world. In particular, he expressed his great wish that new conditions be created for such cooperation with all Western nations in Europe and America, including the United States.

I believe that the pope's appeal was directed to both sides. But General Jaruzelski, who spoke first in the Belvedere, responded somewhat in advance to the pope's appeal: "We are a part of universal history, one of many nations. We have friends, who have not abandoned us in need. But we also face unfriendly forces, which have joined hands to our detriment. The boycott and restrictions undermine the material well-being of Polish society. False charges are multiplied. The picture of present-day Poland is being distorted."

Now is the time to mention the hopes I lay in the pope, a Pole. Due to his widely accepted authority and due to his knowledge about present-day Poland, he can do a lot to change our image as a country in the Western world. He can help to make it more realistic. He can also help Poland to break the political boycott--his personal visit is a strike in this direction already--as well as the economic one, which is forced upon us by the United States and which brings us so much harm.

This would be of great assistance to his native country. It would help us to resolve other matters much more easily in the spirit of dialog, which the pope had spoken about and which nobody wants to forgo.

The government spokesman, in his introductory comment during the pope's visit, stated that the papal pilgrimage would not change our course. This does not mean, however, that it will have no impact on it, and it certainly will have an influence on it, whether good or bad. Also, it would be difficult to predict today what will be the future effect--whether short-term or long-term--of the papal visit, because certain processes of spiritual life require a long time to bear fruit. It seems that after the departure of our Guest the common concern of the state and church authorities ought to be a course of action which will allow history to view the papal pilgrimage of 1983 as clearly beneficial to people's Poland.

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'OPEN,' 'RECEPTIVE' CHARACTER OF MARXISM STRESSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 May 83 p 5

[Article by Prof Dr Petru Panzaru: "An Open Work--the 165th Birthday of Karl Marx"]

[Text] The birthday of great personalities provides an opportunity for meditation on the contemporary fate of their works, which entered long ago into the heritage of values of mankind. It is in the natural order of things that each generation should reread these works with a fresh eye, but with an eye which is charged with the historic experience accumulated and decanted over the years.

From the solid foundation of his works--carefully thought out and elaborated together with Engels, his lifelong friend--the intellectual and political stature of Marx is projected into the universal. The works of Marx, just like those of all great thinkers and initiators of revolutionary sociopolitical movements, aroused great controversies. They were appreciated for their exceptional value or, on the contrary, they were disputed, declared null and ready for the archives and Marxism was considered to be "annihilated," so that it could be noted that, in union with the workers movement in more and more countries, including Romania, it would become more and more influential and vigorous. Never, in the course of more than a century of history, could the works of Marx and Engels be pushed into the shadow of oblivion and left to pedantic analysts of texts, as an object of feeble and long-winded exegesis.

However paradoxical it might seem, the WORK of Marx is more important, more vital, more contemporary than his works, writings and texts. The WORK of the entire life of Marx is the historical-materialist dialectic, that is, that philosophical-scientific method and theory capable of analyzing complex social realities, which are constantly changing under the action of the law of contradictions and of the perpetual struggle between the new and the old. This WORK outlives the recorded texts and works, some of which are limited by concrete-historic circumstances, by the times and by perishable events. Nothing is more foreign to the WORK and to its profoundly critical and revolutionary content than dogmatic isolation, dogmatism, recourse to the argument of authority. In praising the WORK and its innovative spirit, we are not underestimating or ignoring the epoch-making works in which Marx formulated

the dialectical-materialist and historical theory and method of investigating and transforming all domains of social life, from economics to art. But we are also not regarding them as sacred. Just as life, WORK does not allow itself to be corseted and frozen in formulas, in theoretical canons or universally-valid practical formulas. The dialectical materialist and historical theory and method find and follow the sinuous line of the real life of society and remain intellectual and political instruments which are capable of embracing complexity. For Marx, philosophy, science, politics and life had a common base: "It would be a lie," Marx wrote during the years that he was laying the foundation for his WORK, "to say that one is the basis of life and the other is the basis of science" ("Writings in His Youth," p. 582). Fidelity to life, to its truths and not to one text or another, to one thesis or another has remained the guiding methodological principle of all the works of Marx and Engels. And, "fidelity" to Marxism has only one meaning: CREATIVITY.

It is because of its dialectical, militant, constructive spirit, because of its constant concern for the collective human condition which it wants to see fully liberated from social and national oppression, from economic, political, religious and psychological alienation that the WORK of Marx, like any authentic scientific work, is an OPEN WORK.

Perpetually open to self-innovation. Devoid of the pride of definitive, unchanging truth. Open and receptive to the new social experience and practice of the masses, of the working class whose historic mission it discovered and substantiated theoretically and politically. Open and receptive to everything which human, philosophical, scientific, political and economic thought acquires in its unceasing search for truth and values beneficial to mankind.

A defining characteristic of the WORK and of the outlook of Marx, the source of the enduring character and of the power of influencing contemporary social and human life on a universal scale, has been and still is--as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has brilliantly presented it--"the unceasing renewal of its essence from the spring of universal thought and knowledge, from the achievements of all the sciences, from inexhaustible and continually expanding social experience of human society. This requires a maximum receptiveness to everything which is new and progressive in the world, the synthesizing of the fruits of all knowledge, the finding of a response to the problems which life continually presents for men and which the future development of society poses. Only in this way can the philosophy of the working class act in the way affirmed by Marx--not confining itself to explaining the world but contributing to its transformation."

The WORK of Marx--in the sense given to the term in these remarks--is OPEN because the building of a socialist society, regarded by him as an objective historic necessity, is an open work which requires initiative, clear thinking, boldness, perseverance, originality, creativity. These are the things which have characterized the theoretical and practical activity of our party, especially after the 9th Congress, which, through the initiative and work of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, gave a strong innovative drive not only to revolutionary theory but also to revolutionary practice, making a substantial contribution to the enrichment of the treasury of ideas of contemporary scientific socialism.

By representing the creative application of Marxism to the national specific features and conditions of Romania today and to the complex current situation in the world, the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state--in the conception and application of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu made a decisive contribution--has proven to be an active, highly-regarded factor in the achievement of aspirations for progress, democracy, socialism and peace for peoples and a valuable contribution towards the establishment of a better and more equitable world on our planet.

CSO: 2700/270

## CATHOLIC PRESS NOTES DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TEACHERS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 83 p 4

[Text] In recent weeks, the question of whether teachers can be members of religious faiths has been raised again in newspapers and periodicals, among other discussions of the position and activities of believers and religious groups in Yugoslav society. Thus it was raised in the report on consultation for activists in the field of social questions of religion and functioning of religious groups which was held in Rijeka [Fiume] in the organization of the Conference of the SSRNH [Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia]--Rijeka ZO [Territorial Committee]. The VJESNIK of 8 April 1983 states that "it is said that there are many teachers in this country who are religious believers and the essential aspect of this situation is their attitude toward carrying out the educational program (whether or not they present it in a scientific manner), what moral effect they exert on children, what their attitude is toward the basic material assets of society, and how they function in self-management in the workplace, rather than whether they are believers or atheists." It follows from this statement that persons in our country are allowed to be religious. However, the statement is formulated in such a way as not to be entirely clear, since conditions are set regarding which officials of social and political organizations will regularly express their opinion in specific cases. We can demonstrate how this works out in practice without resorting to generalities, by presenting a case the authentic documents on which have reached our hands.

#### A Teacher Remote from Teaching

The director of the Nemanja Vlatkovic Elementary School in Donji Vakuf on 22 November 1982 signed a resolution according to which "the right to perform educational work in school is withdrawn from Kisin Mladenko, teacher of the Serbo-croatian language in the Nemanja Vlatkovic Elementary School OOUR [Basic Associated Labor Organization] in Donje Vakuf, on the basis of a decision by the council of workers of 19 November 1982, since it has been found that he is not discharging his duties as a teacher in accordance with Article 151 of the Law on Elementary Education in the SR BiH [Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina].

"Kisin Mladenko, teacher of the Serbo-Croatian language, is hereby transferred to a position as administrative worker which is not associated with educational work in the school."

## The Reason Is Religious Belief

Thus one teacher has been prohibited from being a teacher and has been transferred to administrative work. Reference is made to a particular article of a particular law, and not a word is said directly about religious faith. However, the person involved complained, requesting that the Basic Associated Labor Court in Zenica make a decision again in the event of a hearing. We also have in our hands the decision of this court, No RS-2196/82 of 11 January 1983. The decision was signed by the chairman of the council, permanent judge Dijana Ajanovic. It is to be seen from the document that this court confirms the earlier decision of the school council, and accordingly rejects the petition by the teacher, Kisin. Kisin, "during his appearance in court does not dispute the fact that he is a religious believer and that he invites a priest to his home for religious holidays and that he regularly goes to church, but believes that this is no reason why he should not be permitted to work as a teacher." Kisin also states that "he does not involve his religious customs and ideas in teaching, and that his behavior outside school has no bearing on the duties which he performs." The justification of the decision indicates that the procedure was really initiated at a session of the LC Municipal Committee, after an unnamed official of this committee verbally communicated to the director of the school that Kisin should be removed from teaching, since "it has been found both in the LC Municipal Committee and by the Commission for Religious Affairs of the SSRN that he meets at houses in the vicinity of Donji Vakuf with certain persons who congregate with him, not only for religious reasons but for certain other reasons harmful to society." The text does not give the names of these persons nor does it mention these other reasons, but it is obvious from it that the body promulgating the decision considers religious belief to be harmful to society.

## A Teacher Must not Be a Religious Believer even in Private

To make the matter entirely clear, we quote the justification word for word:

"The municipal self-management public attorney of Donji Vakur stated at the hearing that the personality of a teacher may not be divided in such a way that in private life he can pursue his religious customs and in teaching not introduce his ideas consciously or unconsciously, and that consequently he is not in a position to establish his teaching on a Marxist foundation. In addition to the fact that the applicant (that is, Kisin) may, both consciously and unconsciously, force religion as an ideology on his pupils when teaching, it is clear that every teacher exerts an educational influence on pupils both in school and in his home environment, and it is precisely the frequent participation by the applicant in various religious events which can act to apply an incorrect educational stimulus to his pupils. To be added to this is the fact that precisely in the municipality of Donji Vakuf has it been observed that an increasing number of children are attending religious school, and it is certain that religious ideas will be imparted to the pupils through instruction in the elementary school. It is recommended to the court that the applicant's petition (that is, Kisin's complaint against the decision whereby he was removed from the teaching process--our remark, GLAS KONCILA) be rejected."



## Meaning of the Law and Limits of Freedom

Lastly, we learn here how the law in question is to be understood in the opinion of this court:

"According to Article 151 of the Law on Elementary Education ("Sluzbeni List SR BiH," No 16/78) there may be selected as teachers persons who perform their work on the scientific basis of Marxism and who educate the younger generation in the spirit of socialist self-management relationships and the equality of rights and community, fraternity, and unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. It follows from this provision that the personality of a teacher is to be judged not only during the hours at school but in its entirety, on the basis of his life and activities as a whole."

The continuation of this justification is also of interest:

"The applicant does not contest, but on the contrary declares both at school and before the court that he observes his religious customs in private life, that he goes to church, and that he invites church officials to his house on religious holidays. By reiterating and stressing the freedoms of religious belief in his way of life, the applicant has, in the environment in which he lives and works, exerted an educational influence on the younger generation even if he has not been conscious of doing so, and must have been aware that pupils follow the example set by a teacher. In addition, in the discussions which were held with him, according to statements by legal counsel, in connection with assignment to other work, the applicant does not modify his behavior, but rather constantly stresses that he is a religious believer, that he attends church, and that he has no intention of changing his conduct."

This means, then, that there certain freedoms in our country which it is not wise to "reiterate and emphasize." The justification of the decision itself states explicitly toward the end that:

"It is correct that the applicant as a citizen has freedom of religious belief in accordance with the constitution of Yugoslavia, but such behavior is inconsistent with performance of the function of teacher."

In other words, according to the decision by the Basic Associated Labor Court in Zenica, educational workers in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Bosnia and Hercegovina in this respect are surely no different from other republics of Yugoslavia, may only be atheists or persons who everywhere behave as atheists.

### Is This a Legal Precedent?

In making these documents public, we feel that we must stress our desire to say nothing but what is stated in the documents themselves. It is important to emphasize the difference between statements by individual social and political workers, such as the positions adopted by Chairman Ivan Lalic at the conference in Rijeci referred to, and this one legal document. Through this Decision of 11 January 1983, the Basic Association Labor Court in Zenica intends

to provide an authentic interpretation of the Law on Elementary Education in the SR BiH, as well as the constitution of Yugoslavia itself. Since none of the competent authorities--it would probably have to be the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia--disputes this interpretation of the law and constitution, the Zenica decision becomes and remains a legal precedent which may be quoted in similar future legal proceedings. There is no doubt that this interpretation of the law and constitution is unacceptable to citizens who are religious believers and they understandably, being highly committed and retaining their faith in legality, are waiting for further developments and resolution of this case.

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